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THE
HISTORY
OF
GENGHIZCAN THE GREAT,
FIRST EMPEROR OF THE
Antient
MOGULS AND TARTARS;

CONTAINING

His Life, Advancement and Conquests; with a short History of his Successors to the present Time; the Manners, Customs and Laws of the antient Moguls and Tartars; and the Geography of the vast countries of Mogolistan, Turquestan, Capschac, Yugurestan, and the eastern and western Tartary.

COLLECTED FROM SEVERAL ORIENTAL AUTHORS, AND
EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS.

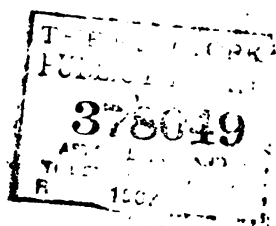
Translated by P. Anson.

By the late M. PÉRIS DE LA CROIX, Senior, Secretary
and Interpreter to the King in the Turkish and
Arabick Languages.

AND NOW FAITHFULLY TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

CALCUTTA.

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1. *Chlorophyll a* and *Chlorophyll b* were determined by the method of Arar and Collins (1971).

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T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
G E N G H I Z C A N T H E G R E A T.

C H A P. I.

OF THE SCYTHIANS OR TARTARS, AND ANCIENT MOGULS. OF GENGHIZCAN'S COUNTRY, ANCESTORS, AND GENEALOGY. OF HIS BIRTH AND NAME, AND THE TROUBLES HE SUFFERED DURING HIS MINORITY FROM THE REBELLIOUS CHIEFS OR CANS OF THE MOGULS AFTER HIS FATHER'S DEATH.

IF the greatness and rapidity of conquests, the variety of events, the downfall of Empires, and establishment of the greatest Monarchy that ever the world knew, can recommend a History, without doubt this of Genghizcan and his successors will be well received. This Prince laid the foundation of a Monarchy greater in its extent than those possessed by Alexander or Augustus; for he extended his dominions to more than eighteen hundred leagues from east and west, and above a thousand from north to south*. It likewise flourished for more than one whole age; that is to say, from the elevation of Genghizcan to the throne, to great part of the reign of Timur Caan, his fifth successor in the Chinese Empire. But what is yet more extraordinary, is, that Genghizcan had much fewer forces when he began his conquests, than Alexander or Cæsar, and

* We are sole Ruler of the Earth, from the farthest East even to the West.

that he kept them with as much prudence as valour. He even excelled all his successors put together in the number of his victories; and was not contented with the single title of Conqueror, but strove to merit that of a Lawgiver also: tho' this appeared incompatible with the continual martial employments which his almost incessant wars engaged him in. Thus he made himself acknowledged to be the greatest Prince that ever filled the eastern throne; and all Historians have given him the highest titles and encomiums that ever Emperor was honored withal*: They surname him the Sultan† of the Moguls and Turks, the Conqueror‡ of the World, the only King of Kings, the Support of Princes, the Master of Thrones and Crowns: they likewise say that God never invested any Sovereign on earth with so great authority. Nevertheless, how considerable soever this History may make this Monarchy appear to be, yet it must be confessed, that till this time we in Europe have had very little knowledge of this people, or knew what the Moguls were, from whence descended, or who have reigned over them. We have little knowledge of their several countries and tribes, altho' Genghizcan's successors have carried their victorious arms even into Hungary and Bohemia, where they fought a famous battle in the year 1242§; and they have likewise had differences with the French in Syria on several occasions. And before this time Hulakou, Grandson to Genghizcan, had ruined the famous Empire of the Califs, or successors of Mahomet, after having cut off the head of Mustafem Billah, the last of the Abasside Califs, in the city of Bagdad, in 1258. Notwithstanding all these remarkable events, and that there are yet living at this day some of the descendants of this Prince, as well in Asia as in Europe, without mentioning those in India, who possess the mighty Empire, whose

* The Prince and Chief of the *Moguls* was *Genghizcan*.

† Sultan of the *Moguls* and *Turks*, sole King of Kings, Possessor of the Crown and Throne.

‡ The conquering *Genghizcan*.

§ Henry Duke of Silesia was killed. The King of Hungary saved himself in Austria, whose Prince stripped him of all the riches his Queen had sent him to keep. He was at last exiled into Slavonia, where he pass the end of his days in extreme misery.

Prince is called the Great Mogul, who is descended from Tamerlain the Great, who sprung from Genghizcan by the mother's side, in the fifth generation.

* Maugre all this, I say, these known facts, and the actual existence of so many Princes of the race, it is most surprizing that this nation is so little known to us in Europe †.

It is true, that the Empire of the present Moguls is new, it not being above a hundred and fifty years since it was founded by Humayoun in Indostan ‡; and it is more than five hundred years since Genghizcan was proclaimed Emperor of the Moguls and Tartars; but both nations had the same original. And in this history the Moguls of Tartary are called the ancient Moguls, only to distinguish them from the Moguls of India, who are more known.

But to return to Genghizcan, all the Moguls and Tartars of all sorts acknowledge him to be the greatest of all their Princes. § He was the son of a Can named Pisouca, or Yesouca, who had reigned in the ancient Mogolistan, a country situate in Great Tartary, and in a province called Caracatay. This Great Tartary in Asia, as well as the little Tartary in Europe, are no other countries but those which in past times were called Scythia. They contained many kingdoms, but they are now divided into so many petty monarchies, that it is almost impossible to give a perfect account of the number of names of them all.

The eastern authors are content to divide them into four parts. The first of which is Capschac, composed of many great provinces, amongst which is that of the Getes, situate to the eastward of the Moguls, and to the northward of Transoxiana, and the country which the river Sihon † waters. The second division is Zagatay, which was called by the

* The Cans of Crim or little Tartary Precopenfis, who descended from Touschican the son of Genghizcan; the Uzbeks who established themselves in 1498, in the kingdom of Transoxiana, as also in Capschac.

† Ut vix quilibet nostrum ejus nomen audierit.

‡ The Moguls of the East Indies are descended from the ancient Moguls by Tamerlain.

§ In Caracatay was a great Can, who was called Pisouca, the son of Partan.

† Oxus.

ancients Transoxiana, and by the Arabs Maouaran-nahar. The third is Caracatay, which contains Turquestan, the country of the Naimans, the country of the Gelayrs, of whom the Keraites make but a part; the country of the Yugures, Tangut, Khothan or Khyta, or Koutan; the country of the Calmuck, and the kingdom of Cource, which borders on China and on the sea. The fourth part is composed of the ancient Mogolistan, which is Gog and Magog, whose situation is so differently described by Historians, tho' it is indeed the country possessed by Genghizcan: some have placed it in Asia Minor, others only in Lydia, others in Colchis and in Hyberia; and some travellers have placed it in the country of the first Scythians, beyond China, to the north east of Asia, saying, to support their conjectures, that the children of Magog, the second son of Japhet, went from the north parts of Europe to the north parts of Asia, where they gave their name to the country they inhabited. In a word, this country is situate in the most eastern part of Asia, to the northward of China, and was always well-peopled. The oriental Writers call its inhabitants Moguls, and the Europeans have given them other names.

In the time of Genghizcan's great grandfather, they made a vast progress, and advanced as far as Caracatay, where they obliged some Cans to pay them tribute; but in the twelfth century, in which Genghizcan was born, they were tributaries to the King of the Keraites.

In the seventh age there were two sorts of Moguls, the one called Dirlighin Moguls, and the other Niron Moguls: the sequel of this History will shew why they were thus called. The Dirlighin Moguls were the nations of Congorat, Berlas, Mercout, Courlas, and many others. And the inhabitants of Merkit, Tanjout, Mercat Joumogul, Nironcaiat, Yecamogul, and some others besides, were called Niron Moguls; amongst whom we must observe that the Yecamogul and Nironcaiat properly belonged to Genghizcan's family.

The word Cayat signifies a Smith. Cabalcan, the great grandfather of Genghizcan, to make himself distinguished from the other Cans of the tribe of Niron his relations, added the name of Cayat to that

of Niron; which name his particular tribe were known by: since which time, this name, as a title of honor, has remained not only to the tribe, but to the Can himself, who is the head of them all. The origin of this word was derived from a certain people who lived at the remotest northern parts of Mogolistan, which were called Cayat, because their chiefs had heretofore erected a foundary for iron-work in a mountain called Arkenekom, which gained them a great reputation, and made this branch of the Moguls highly esteemed, by the great advantage all the Moguls country received from this invention*; they therefore called these people the Arkenekom-smiths. And Genghizcan's ancestors being a-kin to them by alliances with this people, † some mistaken writers have published, that this Prince was the son of a blacksmith, and had been of that trade himself. What occasioned them to fall into this error was, that every Mogul family, to preserve the memory of these illustrious founders, or smiths, were accustomed the first day of the year to celebrate a feast, during which they erected a forge, with its bellows, in which they lighted a fire, and heated a wedge of iron, which they beat with hammers upon an anvil; and this beating was preceded and concluded with prayers. These writers doubtless, not knowing the meaning of this ceremony, and ignorant of the reason why the surname of Cayat was given to Genghizcan's family, were persuaded that this Can had been a smith, and that in thankfulness to God for having raised him to the throne, they had established this ceremony. Thus having searched no farther into the History of the ancient Moguls, they made Genghizcan pass, for a mean person, whose elevation to the Empire was owing to nothing, but his good fortune.

But those Historians who have made a curious search into antiquity, to discover the origin of this Prince, ‡ have had other sentiments of him. They

* They had never before that time had the art of making use of iron.

† Tunc temporis Chingis faber quidam erat in populo Moal, & furabatur de animalibus Uoc Gan quod poterat, &c.

‡ This Emperor was master of two Kingdoms, over both which he ruled.

all speak of his father Pisouca Behadar, * as of a Can the most considerable amongst the ancient Moguls: He had, say they, two kingdoms of great extent; he had married Oulon Aikeh, the daughter of a Can his † relation, who had gained many victories over his enemies. ‡ It may be plainly seen by this that the mean birth they report him to have had, is purely the effect of the ignorance or malice of these writers; whereas his father was descended, in a direct line for seven descents, from Buzengir surnamed the Just, whose reputation was so great both in the eastern and northern parts of Asia, that there was no considerable Prince who would not gladly have passed for his relation, or been proud of being allied to him. § We may then rest assured that Genghizcan, the son of Pisouca, was born a Prince or Can.

As almost all Empires and illustrious families have their fabulous stories and false miracles to grace their beginnings, the Moguls have not failed to have theirs, and have rather chose to corrupt their History than to let it pass unadorned with something marvellous. They have attributed strange revelation to Genghizcan; and to gain the greater veneration from the people, they have even deified him: those who were most interested in his advancement, have had the insolence to make him pass for the son of God; but his mother, more modest, said only, that he was the son of the Sun: but not being bold enough to aver that she was personally beloved by this glorious Planet, she pretended to derive this fabulous honor from his ninth predecessor; and his partizans reported, that Buzengir was the son of the Sun.

The Turks and Tartars believe that the mother of Buzengir, was the root from whence all the Mogul

* The Mogul Emperors, to the number of twenty one, have reigned in Persia 150 years; the first of which was Genghizcan, the son of Pisouca.

† They were all Emperors of the East, and the greatest of them all was Buzengir Can.

‡ The greatest of these was Buzengir, from whom all the Mogul Cans descended.

§ Bin Abdallatif in his second Chapter of his *Lubbattaomarihh* says, that Genghizcan lived in the days of Abou Muslim Merouzy, who according to the Historians *Almakine* was in the days of Merouana the elder, the last of the *Ommiades* Califs. This Abou Muslim was he who took the *Diadem* from the *Ommiades* Califs, and gave it to the *Abassides*, A. D. 749. *Heg.* 139.

Emperors sprung: and history, or fabulous story, has given ground to Historians to report, that a woman was the first of this illustrious family, which cannot be traced farther than her: she is called Alan-coua.* She had been married, and had borne two sons, the one named Bactout, and the other Balactout, according to Marcopolo's report: other Authors call them Belkeda and Yekeda. 'Tis said that Douyan-Byan her husband died some time after: and that instead of thinking of marrying again, being esteemed a very virtuous lady, she lived a retired life, and easily made the world believe that she applied herself wholly to the well educating of her children: nevertheless some time after she appeared to be big with child †, at which her deceased husband's relations murmured, and she was at last forced by them to appear before the Chief Judge of the Tribe. It is true, she made no scruple of doing it, but went boldly to the Judge, and desired him to give attention to what she should relate, and weigh well every circumstance of what had happened to her, before he past his judgment on her. The Judge asked her by whom she was with child; she answered that no man had occasioned it, but that one day lying negligently upon her bed, an extraordinary light appeared, illuminating the dark room where she lay; that this light, whose exceeding brightness even blinded her, seemed to environ her, and three times she felt it penetrate even into her body. ‡ And this good lady being desirous to prove herself innocent to the people, and to persuade them that her conceiving with child was a prodigy, and not naturally, she is said to have added that each time the light penetrated her body, she conceived a son; and therefore they must wait till the time of her delivery, and that if she brought into the world three male children, it was an incontestable

* It is affirmed that Genghizcan derived his original from a Woman called *Alan-coua*.

† She became with child; they accused her of a crime, and carried her before the Judge, who questioned her about it: she said she had not had conversation with any man living, and was upon her bed, when a light appeared which penetrated three times into her body.

‡ I conceived with child, and I am big with three Sons; wait till I am delivered, and if I bring three Male Children, you will be convinced of the truth of what I say: if I bring not three Sons, do with me whatsoever you think good.

proof of the truth of what she told them ; but on the contrary, if she brought not three sons, she would submit to suffer the most cruel torments they could invent. The time of her delivery being come, she silenced the calumnies her husband's relations had raised of her, and justified her virtue * by bringing three sons, who in process of time gave their names to three considerable tribes, of which they were the chiefs.

Buzengir was one of these three sons, and the heads of their descendants were called Nouranyoun, that is to say, children of light. This fable hath caused some Authors to call Genghizcan the son of the Sun, believing him to be descended from Alancoua, by Buzengir, his predecessor in the ninth degree. Marrakeschy an Arabian Historian, who relates this fable, professes that he does not credit it, and that he is fully persuaded this lady only invented it to avoid the death which by her crime she had merited †: but the Persian Condemir, a celebrated Historian, compares the chastity of Alancoua to that of the Moon; and after having related the fact in a more modest manner, affirming that the light entered into her mouth, and thence descended into her womb, adds, that she was really brought to bed of three sons, as she had foretold: and this prediction, being thus verified, made her be afterwards looked on as saint or prophets.

It is most certain, that the Moguls look on this fable as a sacred truth, and that it is held a great miracle amongst them; and they remain persuaded that God sending his light to Alancoua, designed that a Prince should be one day born of the descendants of this woman, who should avenge God on mankind for all the injustice committed by them on earth; and they believed Genghizcan to be that Prince.

These three children, whose names were Bucan, Bosky and Buzengir, no sooner appeared in the world, but superstition consecrated Alancoua's cheat to the people, and distinguished these her three last sons from all the other Moguls, and the people gave to them and their successors, the surname of Niron: ‡

* She brought into the world three Male Children.

† She invented this fiction only to avoid being put to death.

‡ Corrupting the word *Nouranyoun*, which signifies Children of Light.

I say, to these three last sons, for her other children were called Dirlighin, to distinguish that they were only Mogul's born without a miracle.

The same Condemir makes Alancoua to be descended from Noah; * he says, that she was the daughter of Tohoubinecan, whose ancestors he makes to be Oguz, Caracan, Mogolcan and Turk, who was the son of Japhet, the son of Noah: this Turk is the person from whom the Turks pretend to proceed, he was the first King of the eastern Tartary, in the days of Cayamerres the first King of Persia.

In fine, Genghizcan, according to the report of Fadlallah, who wrote his life, had for his father Pisouca Behader, and for his grandfather Purtan, the son of Cabalcan, who sprung from Tumenecan, son to Baifancourcan, whose father was called Caiducan, this last was the son of Toutomitencan, who had for his father Boucacan, the son of Buzengir, surnamed the Just.

Amongst these Princes there were particularly three, who have rendered themselves worthy our notice: Buzengir, by a thousand virtues, and by his quality, being King of Cotan; Cabalcan made himself the admiration of all Asia by his courage; and Pisouca, the father of Genghizcan, was famed for having brought under his command the greatest part of the chiefs of the Mogul nations, with the Kings of Caracatay, who troubled his quiet: he vanquished them, notwithstanding they frequently received succours from the King of the northern parts of China, or from Cathay. The last battle that Pisouca fought, before the birth of Genghizcan, was against a people called Sou-mouguls, or Tartars: to revenge himself for an affront he had received of them, he caused his forces to march to their frontiers, entered and pillaged their country. Temugincan, general of several hordes or tribes, came to drive him thence; but Pisouca went to meet him, and put him to flight after a bloody battle, and returned with honor to his country-house, where he commonly resided, called Dillon Yldac, in Yeca-Mogolistan.

* Turk, the son of Japhet, succeeded his father; the Turks call themselves sons of Japhet. He was the first Turkish King, as Kayoumerres is reported to have been the first King of Persia.

To perpetuate the memory of this victory, he gave the name of the Can he came from vanquishing, to a child of which Olon Ayke, the first of his wives, was soon after brought to bed,* calling him Temugin. † And congealed blood being found in the infant's hands, ‡ Pisouca was much surprized, it appearing to him an extraordinary accident; he therefore, according to the custom of the Moguls, consulted the astrologers and soothsayers §; but he was not content with their conjectures. And Soughoudgin his relation, and first minister, a ¶ man of great capacity, very skilful in warlike affairs, and one who had acquired much knowledge in China, where he had long resided; I say, this Soughoudgin was the only person who could satisfy the Mogul Can; || he told him, that the planet that reigned at his son's birth, shewed that he should have many enemies to combat with; and that the blood observed in his hands foretold that he should stain the fields with their blood, and overcome them all; and that he should in a little time be grand Cham of all Scythia, because the house of his nativity ** in his horoscope was Libra, which was a celestial sign, and the seven planets at that time were all in that sign.

In effect, the eastern authors say in their figurative style, 'That the air or wind, impatient of his severity, blew with such violence in Asia in the time of his reign, that many thousands of people were destroyed.'

This prediction pleased Pisouca: he soon conceived mighty hopes equal to what it promised, and thought he could see in his son Timugin's face all the presages of an heroic mind. Nor was he deceived in his conjectures: this young Prince had

* Genghizcan was born Anno Domini 1154, in the Reign of Lewis the seventh, King of France; and this year was the year of the Hog, according to the Mogul Calendar.

† Cadrikhun *sefarde Dermucht Dacht*.

‡ He was first named Temugin.

§ Genghizcan Hijo de Sukik Badur nacio corriendo el ano dela Hyxara, 546.

¶ Pisouca called him Temugin.

|| Quando Chingvizcan nacio, truxo en sus dos manos a prelado en cada una della's un poco de sangre que fue cierto pronostico de su crueldad.

** His Horoscope was Libra, a celestial Sign, and all the seven Planets in it.

scarce attained to his ninth year, when he would apply himself to no other exercise than arms.

The great minister Soughoudgin died before this time, but he left a son, called Caraschar Nevian, who was a man of great parts and learning. Pisouca chose him to breed up * Temugin; and the sequel proves that he made no ill choice.

About this time Pisouca saw the course of his prosperity crossed by an adverse turn of fortune. The King of China took and kept him long a prisoner in his dominions, and treated him very ill; but Pisouca had the good fortune at last to break his chains. He bribed those that guarded him, and found a way to escape to the Yeca-Mogul; where being come, he thought of nothing but how to revenge himself upon the King of China. In order to which, he married his son Temugin (tho' he was not thirteen years old) to a Princess who was daughter to the Can of Naiman, who had as much cause as he to hate the King of China. These two Cans were designing to go and attack this Prince with all their united forces, but death prevented them: † for Pisouca died, and then all things were quite altered in less than a years space, and put into a very ill posture.

Pisouca having made war with the people of Tanjout, Merkit, and several other tribes of the branch of Niron, his relations, and forced them to acknowledge him for their sovereign; soon after his death all these nations revolted, the Cans of Tanjout and Merkit, Gemouca, cousin to Prince Temugin, and several heads of other tribes whom Pisouca had subjected, joined together and came to attack Temugin, who, notwithstanding his youth, courageously set up his standard ‡ animated by his mother's example, who showed herself a noble Princess, such as it became Pisouca's wife to be. He exhorted his subjects to defend themselves, and with her, putting himself at the head of his army, marched to his enemies, and immediately gave them battle with good success. But fortune in

* Seeing his son of a noble Genius, he committed him to the care of an Atabec, or Governor, of high birth and quality.

† When Pisouca died, Genghizcan was but thirteen years old; *Ann. Heg.* 562. It was in 1166, two years or thereabouts after the birth of Philip Augustus, King of France.

‡ It was a staff, at the end of which a Horse's tail was fastened, which served for a standard in the armies.

the end turned against him ; he was beaten, and Temugin fell several times into his enemies hands, yet had always the luck to escape.

Being in the fourteenth year of his age, he espoused Purta Cougine, the daughter of a Mogul Can, the chief of the nation of Congorat, and Kinsman to Ounghecan, King of the Keraites. By his lady he had a daughter that year : * But the year following a powerful party of the inhabitants of Merkit having learned that Temugin was gone from his kingdom on an expedition, went into Nironcaiat to plunder it, it belonging to one of his tribes. They surprised those few forces that guarded it, and after a slight resistance, they entered and carried off all that was valuable, as also the Princess Purta Cougine, who was big with her second child, and sent her to the King of the Keraites, thinking it would much oblige him to put into his power a Princess of such extraordinary beauty as she was.

The King of the Keraites certainly received this present with much joy ; but he always looked on Purta Cougine as a farther on his child ; and tho' Temugin had a great many enemies in his Court, who pressed him to marry this lady himself, he answered, that he could not marry his son's wife. He spoke thus, because in the time that he made a league of friendship with Pisouca, he called Temugin his son, he therefore treated her as if she had been his own daughter.

So soon as Temugin heard that his wife was in the King of the Keraites hands, he ordered a Nevian† to go and demand her in his name, and to acquit himself of this commission with all diligence. The Nevian obeyed, and was no sooner arrived at Caracorum, where this King kept his Court, but he obtained audience; and after having made him the usual compliments, he declared the subject of his embassy. The King received him favorably, and granted all he desired; he even committed the Princess to his care, charging him to treat her with all the respect and tenderness that he in duty owed to his Monarch's wife.

The Princess Purta Cougine was so near her time, that she was obliged to stop for some days on the road;

* The persecutions Temugin suffered from the neighbouring Cans or Princes.

† That is to say, a Prince of that Court.

in which time she was delivered of a lovely son, whom she caused to be wrapt up in soft paste, and so carried in her lap, without harming its tender limbs. This succeeded so well, that when she arrived at Temugin's palace, notwithstanding the tedious journey she had gone, the child was found to be in perfect health. The care she had taken of this young Prince was very acceptable to her lord: he called him Jougî.* And now altho' Temugin had continued to support a war for seven or eight years after his father's death, and that Oulon Ayke his mother used all her efforts to maintain him on the throne his father had left him in, yet of necessity he must at last sink under the weight of so many enemies; and therefore it was no wonder that he was in the end taken prisoner by the tribe of Tanjout.† And what was more grievous to him than his prison, was, that his own tribe of Niron Cayat, seduced by Toucta Bey, (an of the Merkites, the most powerful of all his enemies, revolted at the same time, and took up arms against him. He again had the good fortune to escape from his enemy's hands by his wisdom; and then he began wisely to consider, that tho' he had again escaped, yet he must now yield to necessity, and provide a retreat for himself, in case his enemies refused to make a peace with him; and that such a retreat could not be procured from any Prince, but on very disadvantageous terms. He therefore made all the advances possible to bring the Cans to an accommodation. He offered them all they could desire; but they having no other design than entirely to ruin the family of Pisouca, rejected all his proposals, in such sort, that they invaded and usurped the greatest part of his dominions. He used many vain efforts to resist them; so that at length, despairing to retrieve his losses, he took a resolution to take refuge under the King of the Keraites, who he flattered himself would give him a good reception, because Pisouca his father had before assisted this Prince against his enemies.

About this time Temugin had a dream that prefigured his future greatness. He dreamed that his

* In the *Mogul* language *Jougî* signifies happily arrived.

† The Tribe of *Niron*, who had been subdued by *Pisouca*, abandoned *Temugin*, and put themselves under the Banner of the Tribe of *Tanjout*.

arms were grown of an extraordinary length, that he had a sword in each of his hands, and that the point of that in his right hand was turned towards the East, and the point of that in his left to the West. He communicated this dream to the Queen his mother, who explained it in a manner suiting the ambitious ideas she had conceived of him. She told him, that these two swords prefigured to him the empire of two parts of the world.

Flattered with such vast expectations, he was confirmed in his design of retreating to the grand Can's. To this effect, he sent a Prince, or Nevian, to Caracorum, and did not in vain implore the protection of Ounghean: The King granted him an asylum in his Court; and sent him word by the Nevian, that he might look on him as a man who thought himself absolutely bound to his service, by the singular obligations he lay under to his father Pisouca. Temugin, thus assured of the grand Can's protection, had nothing more to do but contrive his retreat. He left the management of his kingdom to his uncle Utagekin, and married the Queen Oulon Ayke, his mother, to the Emir Buzrac, whom he made to sit on his right hand above all the other Princes; and then he departed with Caraschar to go for the King of the Keraites Court. * Caraschar took all the precautions imaginable for the safety of his Prince, whom he had the honor to accompany. He chose six thousand soldiers for his guard,† and engaged his faithful servants to follow him; giving them hopes that the Grand Can would not fail to lend assistance to Temugin, and re-establish them in their fortunes, to the confusion of their enemies. Thus the brave son of Pisouca put himself at the head of those who would follow his fortune; which tho' but few in number, and appearing an inconsiderable band of forces, yet in respect of their courage and fidelity to their Prince, were formidable.

* Accompanied by Caraschar, he took refuge under Ounghean.

† Pisouca being dead, this young Prince went to Ounghean, who was King of Caracatay.

C H A P. II.

OF OUNGHCAN KING OF THE KERAITES, OTHERWISE KNOWN BY THE NAME OF PRESTER JOHN, OF ASIA. OF THE ARRIVAL OF TEMUGIN AT CARACOROM, AND OF THE CONSPIRACY FORMED AGAINST HIM THERE.

BEFORE we speak of the reception Ounghean gave Temugin, I think it will not be improper to relate what Historians have said of this King, because he was not only a Prince of glorious memory, but also a person who has a considerable share in this history.

His predecessors had been powerful Lords in the northern parts of Asia, that is to say, in Mogolistan, in Gelair, Turquestan, and some other parts of Caracatay. Some of his ancestors had even assumed the title of Padischa*; but their greatness in time decayed. And his family, which was one of the most illustrious in all Caracatay, in the country of Gelair, contained six great branches or tribes of Dirlighin Moguls, amongst whom were the Keraites, who made cruel wars with their neighbours. The grandfather of Ounghean, whose tribe resided at Caracorom, was one of the most considerable and most valiant Princes of the Keraites, but at the same time one of the most unfortunate. Several Cans of Caracatay combined against him, and vanquished him twice; and one amongst the rest, named Naour, his relation and next neighbour, having drawn him into an ambuscade near a wood, seized and immediately sent him under a strong guard to the King of Courga, † in China, where he finished his life in a strange manner; for the King of Courga caused him to be bound, and sowed up in a sack, and cruelly let him expire on a wooden ass.

‡ The widow of Mergous, which was the name of this unhappy Prince, inconsolable for his loss, and having a lively sense of the unworthy usage given her husband, took a resolution to be revenged, whatever it cost her; and you shall see in what manner she obtained her ends. Tho' Naour was the principal cause of her grief, and object of her hate, she

* Which signifies Emperor.

† Some pretend that this Courga was Corea.

‡ She was called Coutouky.

feigned herself to be angry with none but the King of Courga, and caused Naour to be told, after she had been fifteen months a widow, that being resolved to leave off her mourning, she passionately desired to divert herself with his company; and that if he yet retained any part of that affection he had professed to have for her before her marriage with Mergous, she should not refuse to make him her husband: in fine, that if he approved of what she proposed, of making merry with her, he should prepare to receive her, for she would forthwith come to him, with only a few of her attendants; and that she would take care to bring with her good store of bourachios, or leather barrels, filled with an excellent cammez, or drink.* Naour falls into the snare, and sends the Princess word back, that nothing could be more agreeable to him than her company. The lady immediately makes ready to go; and after having sent before her a hundred sheep, and ten mares, she sets forward, attended by chariots, loaden with great vessels made of ox-hides, full of cammez. Being arrived near Naour's tents, she ordered that the sheep should be given to the cooks to dress, and the chariots full of the vessels placed within two paces of the tent, in which they were to feast. The Can went out to meet the Princess with all the demonstrations of joy and respect of a passionate lover. He had a long conversation with her. The table was spread, and she caused some of the barrels of cammez to be brought into the tent, which she presented to Naour. He drank of this liquor with much pleasure, and made himself drunk. Then she gave the signal to her attendants, who opening the great barrels, there came forth instantly armed Men, who joining with the rest of the Princess's attendants, fell upon Naour, whom she had already stabbed, and cut him in pieces. Nor could their fury be appeased till they had spilt the blood of all those domestics whom this Can had caused to come into the tent to serve them. Such was the vengeance this generous woman took on her husband's enemy. And she concerted her measures so well to execute her bold design, that

* Some call it *Cosmos*. It is a Drink made of Marc's milk, and prepared after a particular manner.

She retreated in safety, without any discovery being made of what she had done, or falling into the hands of those who might have revenged Naour's death. By this great action she acquired a mighty fame, and all the Princes of that age highly esteemed her.

Mergous Can left two sons by this Princess, Coja Boiruc and Gurcan; the first of whom dying, left several children, the eldest of whom was Ounghean, who was at first called Togrul. At ten years of age he accompanied his father in his wars. Togrul was in that expedition where his grandfather was taken by Naour, and with much difficulty escaped. And having more merit, and being better beloved than the rest of his brothers, they conceived a most inveterate hatred against him, when they saw him seated on the Throne of the Keraites, which he took possession of, after the death of his and their father. This aversion was increased in them, when they saw the King of China send an ambassador to congratulate him, giving him the name of Ounghean, by which he intimated that he merited the title of Grand Can, and that he acknowledged him for such. And in truth this name, which signified the first of Cans, pleased him so much, that he assumed it, and quitted that of Togrul, which he always disliked, because it was the name of a certain bird that was accounted an ill omen.

Ounghean had afterwards more than one quarrel with his brothers and cousins, some of whom he put to death. This rigorous treatment of them caused his uncle Gurcan to make war against him. They came to blows in the open field, where, after a bloody battle, Ounghean was vanquished, and despoiled of all his dominions: but he had recourse to Pisouca, Temugin's father, and by his assistance he expelled his uncle Gurcan, and pursued him even to the Kingdom of Cochin, and so was re-established in his Throne.

This same Ounghean, King of the Keraites, was that Prince who made so great a noise in the christian world towards the end of the twelfth century, *

* Ounghean is the *Prester John*, of Asia.

under the title and quality of the Prester John, of Asia, which name the Nestorians first styled him by. And there are yet to be seen circular letters sent by him to christian Princes during his reign ; one of which was to Pope Alexander III. one to the King of France, one to the Emperor of Constantinople, and one to the King of Portugal, all writ in a very lofty style ; in which he seemed to design to give to those Princes to whom they were addressed, an idea of his greatness, and to persuade them that he was the greatest Monarch that ever Asia produced. There is yet remaining in French a copy of the letter he writ to King Lewis VII. the father of Philip Augustus ; but it seems by the writing not to have been writ above three hundred years, and it begins with these words, ‘ Prester John, by the Grace of God, the most powerful Monarch, King of all Christian Kings, wisheth health, &c.’

This letter is filled with an account of this Prince’s magnificence : he boasts of his great wealth, the vastness of his dominions, in which he comprehends India, and all the inhabitants of Gog and Magog : he proudly speaks of seventy Kings, who serve him, and are his subjects ; he vaunts of the tribute he extorts from an Isrealitish King, who is Lord of many Lords, Dukes, and Jewish Princes ; he invites the King of France to come and see him, promising to give to him great dominions, and also to make him his successor. He proceeds in this letter to name the different sorts of people and rarities that are in his Kingdoms. In fine, he omits nothing that may conduce to his advantage, and speak him a most powerful Monarch. He calls himself a Priest, because of the sacrifice of the Altar, which, as such, he performs ; and King, as he executes justice and right as sovereign Judge. He speaks of St. Thomas, conformable to the fabulous notions of the Indians ; and at the conclusion of his letter, desires the King to send him some valiant Cavalier who is of the French generation. These are his words.

But ’tis not difficult to discover that this letter is a counterfeit, and that it was not writ by Ounghcan. The Nestorians who in that country were very numerous, having established themselves there in the year 737. by the means of the missionaries of

Mouffoul and Basra, were the authors of this letter; having by means of their emissaries spread a report over all Christendom, that they had converted the greatest part of the people in Scythia, and also the King himself, who was the most mighty and powerful King that ever reigned there; that his Conversion was so sincere, that he was become a Priest, and had taken the name of John. They added these circumstances, to render their fabulous stories more like truth; and composed these vain letters, to make that zeal of their sect more respected and commended, by their having gained so great a Prince to christianity.

All the use we can make of these letters from our history, is to prove that the world was at that time persuaded, and believed that this King was a very great Prince, and likewise both a Christian and a Priest. There is also found a letter of the Pope's, who styles him a most holy Priest; yet in reality there is not the least appearance that he was a christian, but only that he permitted christians to live under him, * and that some of his subjects had embraced the christian religion; nay more, that he even suffered them quietly to have Bishops. What is really true, is, that this King was the most considerable Can of the kingdom of Caracatay, and that a great number of sovereign Princes paid him tribute. Abulfarage observes, that he was sovereign over all the eastern Turks; but we must take notice, that in his time the greatest part of the Tartars were called Turks, tho' they were not of the country of Turquestan.

† Oughcan was a native of the kingdom of the Keraites, whose dependants were the inhabitants of Gelair and Tendouc, which possessed the largest countries of Caracatay. The capital city of his kingdom was Caracorom, situate about ten or twelve days journey from the place where Temugin first kept his Court, and about twenty days journey from China. ‡ This city after Oughcan's reign be-

* Et vocabant eum Nestoriani. Regem Johannem, & plus dicebant de ipso decuplo quam veritas esset talles. Sic ergo exiit magna fama de illo Rege Johanne; & quando ego transivi per pascua ejus, nullas aliquid sciebat de eo nisi Nestoriani pauci. Rubriques.

† Oughcan who was the Governour of the Keraite nation.

‡ Oughcan erat Dominus cujusdam villæ quæ dicitur Caracorom, populum habens sub se qui dicebantur Kirit, Merkitæ.

came the residence of the Mogul Emperors. Temugin established his seat there, and his successors made it the principal city of the Empire. The * Emperor Ostay Caan, Genghizcan's third son, caused it to be rebuilt after his expedition into China, and gave it the name of Ourdoubaleg.

This digression I thought necessary, to prove who Ounghean was, in whose Court Temugin sought an asylum from the persecutions of his neighbours. And now let us return to this Prince. † He arrived safely at Caracorum, being conducted thither by the Prince Caraschar, *Ann. Dom.* 1174. He was then in his twentieth year. ‡ Ounghean received him kindly, and gave him all the marks imaginable of friendship and affection, acknowledging the grateful sense he retained of the great services the deceased Pisouca had done him. Temugin treated him with a like respect, and mutual civilities passed between them. And, as in all Courts the favourites caress him whom their master respects; so here the courtiers all strove to please and oblige Temugin, whom their Monarch strove daily to do honor to, and much loved.

Some days after his arrival, Caraschar desired Ounghean to give his majesty a private audience, which was granted. § Then Caraschar, being the Princess Governor, first made to the King a full recital of all the injustice and persecutions the Mogul Cans had treated this young Prince his master withal since his father Pisouca's death; and finished his discourse with supplicating him to permit him to continue in his Court till he was of years to be able to revenge himself upon them. Temugin, after his government had ended his discourse, assured the King of his obedience and fidelity; adding, that he would entirely devote himself to his service. Ounghean caressed the young Prince, and promised him his protection; and that he would not only make the Mogul Cans cease to persecute the tribe of the Yecamoguls who had always been faithful to him, but

* And arrived in his own country, where he built a City, which he called *Ourdoubaleg*; and this was the City of *Caracorum*.

† *Caracorum* signifies black sand.

‡ *Temugin* comes to the Court of *Ounghean*, King of the *Keraites*.

§ He continued in *Ounghean's* service till he was of age.

that he would force the tribe of Niron Cayat to return to their duty. In fine, he treated him with all the goodness that a King could shew, nay, indeed used him as a tender father would his son. He added more officers to his retinue, and honored him highly. He sent Lords from his own Court to those Cans who were the greatest enemies to Temugin, to threaten them in his name with his displeasure, declaring war with them, if they continued any hostilities against Temugin.

Caraschar had indeed much wisdom and judgment, and it was doubtless by his sage counsel and instructions that the young Mogul Prince came to be so soon capable of such a great trust as he discharged in Oughcan's Court, who honored him greatly, calling him his son; nay, he even placed him above the Princes of his own blood, and committed the conduct of his armies to him in a war he had with the Can of Tendouc. Temugin made his courage appear on this occasion; and some Mogul Cans refusing to pay the tribute they usually paid to Oughcan, felt his valour. He behaved himself on all occasions with so much prudence and wisdom, that Oughcan undertook nothing without first consulting him.

All this good success, and the confidence the King had in this young Mogul Prince, seemed to secure him his favor for ever; but his virtues created him enemies, even more dangerous than those who forced him to fly his kingdoms.

The Princess Ouisoulougine, daughter to the King, charmed with Temugin's valour and person, fell in love with him, * and rejected the offers of Gemoucha, Can of the tribe of Jagerat, who had asked her in marriage with much earnestness. Oughcan gave her to Temugin, † and this marriage was celebrated with as much pomp as if it had been the Grand Can's himself. Gemoucha could not patiently see this; he loved the Princess, and saw himself slighted and rejected, his love and honor both injured and affronted: this enraged him so, that he resolved to revenge

* Gemoucha was in love with Ouisoulougine, but she loved Temugin.

† Genghizcan marries the Princess; Gemoucha is mad with rage, and loses the Grand Can's favor.

himself first on his rival, and then on the King of the Keraites.

Marrakeschy, a celebrated Arabian Author, says, ' that the fire of envy was kindled in the hearts of ' those who belonged to the Grand Can, and that they ' invented devilish stratagems to ruin the young ' Mogul Prince, and set the King against him; that ' they laid snares (like huntsmen) to entrap him, and ' omitted nothing to break the union that was betwixt the King and him.' These are the words of Marrakesch.

Gernouca, now a despairing desperate lover, easily found people disposed to join with him. A thousand envious wretches offered themselves to assist him in his revenge: yet notwithstanding they were all combined against Temugin, and their impatience great to ruin him, it was many years before they could bring it to pass. The credit of this young Prince, whom the King had made his first Minister, the great number of his friends, and the services he did Ounghcan, defeated all their plots and villanous designs a long time; * but the Grand Can, who wanted nothing but a mind firm and constant, proof against Sycophants whispers, at last suffered himself to be seduced with calumnies: but before he gave ear to Temugin's enemies many great events past.

Tousta Bey, Can of the Merkites, was at the head of those who sought to ruin the Mogul Prince; and seeing that their designs did not succeed, he broke friendship with Ounghcan, resolving publickly to make known the hatred he bore to Temugin. He joined with the Can of Tanjout, and they made a league together, and had so formidable an army when joined, that they doubted not of overthrowing both the father and son-in-law together. They received into their party all that were enemies to Ounghcan, as well as Temugin; and to make their friendship and league lasting, the Can of Tanjout proposed to the confederates, to confirm their union with a solemn oath, frequent with the Moguls to swear on such occasions.

* He was valiant, and feared of his enemies, which gained him the envy of his equals, who did him ill offices with Ounghcan.

All the Cans and Emirs, or their deputies, hewed in pieties with their sabres, a horse, a wild ox, and a dog,* and then pronounced these words :

“ Hear, O God ! O Heaven ! O Earth ! “ the oath that we swear against Ounghean and Temugin ; if one of us spare them when occasion offers, and fail to keep the promise he has made to ruin them and assist their enemies against them, may he become as these beasts.”

This oath was a long time kept secret ; but at last the King and the Mogul Prince having been informed of all by a Lord of the Congorats, prepared for the war, and to prevent their enemies. Temugin asked to go against them in person. The half of the army was given him. To these forces he joined his Moguls : and having set up his standard,* he marched to the borders of the Tanjouts, of whom he got intelligence by his scouts, and by his extraordinary diligence surprized their General with his arrival, who did his utmost to avoid fighting, till such time as some of the allied forces, whom he expected, had joined him ; and therefore amused Temugin so long with sometimes sending parties towards the mountains, where others were entrenched, or other stratagems of war, that the Naimans, who being joined in league with the Cans, were informed by their scouts that the Grand Can had not all his army with him, took this opportunity, whilst the Mogul Prince was on this expedition, to enter into the dominions of the King of the Keraites ; and this enterprize they undertook by the advice of a younger brother of Ounghean's, whose name was Erkecara, who had many years before retired to the Naimans. Whose King Tayancan, accompanied with this malecontented Prince, briskly attacked the Grand Can, who thought of nothing less than this irruption, having the year before made peace with the Naimans on very advantageous terms for them. Tho' much surprized, yet he omitted not to oppose them bravely, but in vain ; for this unfortunate King, after a tedious fight, found himself obliged to fly, to avoid falling into the enemy's hands. The greatest part of his soldiers were either killed or wounded, the

* This was a long staff or pike, to which a horse's tail was tied.

capital city taken and pillaged; and his brother Erkecara ascended his Throne as King of the Keraites. The remainder of his scattered troops, with Prince Sancoun his son, retired to the mountains; and Oughcan, by unfrequented ways, went to seek his son-in-law, whom he found just on the point of giving battle to the Tanjouts, and their confederates.

The Mogul Prince was much amazed when he saw the King in his camp. He made him many compliments of condolance, and comforted him with hopes of having now his full revenge. In order to which, Oughcan put himself at the head of the main body, Temugin commanded the left wing, and a Keraite Lord the right; and in this order they vigorously attacked the Tanjouts, who defended themselves obstinately. The victory was a long time doubtful, but at last the Grand Can was conqueror; for Temugin, after having animated the troops, both by his words, and more by his example, broke in with such fury upon the confederates troops, that he put their right wing into disorder. The rest of the King's army taking fresh courage at this sight, fell in upon them with such resolution, that they were routed: And so great a slaughter was made of the Tanjouts that day, that that nation was almost entirely destroyed.

But this great victory could not satisfy Oughcan's revenge, he must regain his throne, and punish the rest of his enemies. He ordered Temugin to levy more troops. This Prince immediately issued forth his orders; and by his care the year following he had got together a formidable army of Keraites.

The confederate Cans were not idle on their side, nor were their troops less numerous. It is true there were but few Tanjouts; but to make amends, Toucta Bey brought a great number of Merkites with him. There likewise came many hords* of Dirlighin Moguls. The Can of Naiman came in person at the head of his troops, and the tribes which Erkecara had engaged to his party considerably augmented his army.

They had at first only skirmishes, and the van-guard on both sides fought several times with equal advantage; but at last, the two armies seeing each other,

* A hord is a tribe of Tartars, living together in tents.

ranged themselves in order of battle, and Temugin at the head of his troops began the fight. He was immediately followed by the whole army: the fight was smart and very obstinate, and perhaps the most bloody that history ever recorded. The leaders of the enemy at last gave way and fled: their example despirited all their forces, who soon followed, and so great a slaughter was made of them by the pursuers, that the fields were all dyed in their blood. In this dreadful confusion it was not known what became of Erkecara; but the Grand Can Ounghcan his brother, entered victorious into Caracorom, and was re-established in his throne Ann. Dom. 1179.

The year after this famous victory, Gemouca, Can of the Jagerats, who was the author of this war, being still an enemy to Temugin, and holding a correspondence with the confederate Cans, by the mediation of the Prince Sancoun, obtained leave to return to the Grand Can's Court; where he was no sooner arrived, but he applied himself artfully to gain the friendship of all those whom Temugin's great exploits had rendered envious, and who by private whispers and practices endeavoured to lessen his credit. But he strove above all things to please the Prince Sancoun, who was very young. He easily gained his ear and good opinion: he represented Temugin to him in the blackest colours, to render him odious in his eyes. He did not stop there; he strengthened his cabal, redoubled his plots, and spread many calumnies against the Mogul Prince, which his friends supported. He failed not to find people enough who subtilly inspired Prince Sancoun with the sentiments they desired against Temugin; making him believe he was an ambitious man, who had no other design in view, but to deprive him of the succession, and get the Crown. To accomplish which, he held secret intelligence with Tayanca, King of the Naimans, whose daughter he had married in his minority, which King was a known enemy to his father the Emperor; and that Temugin built his hopes on this Can's assistance, of whose friendship he was well assured.

These discourses had at last the effect Gemouca desired upon the young Prince, and Temugin past in

his opinion for a traitor. He by many letters to the Grand Can his father, advertised him of what he had been secretly informed, and omitted nothing that could render the Mogul Prince suspected. The King at first did not regard Sancoun's advice, but looked on it as coming from Gemouca's malice, who had inspired him with these notions : and without giving ear to it, continued to love Temugin, and to employ him on several occasions where he had need of his valour or counsel. But at last Sancoun and Gemouca, the one spurred on by fear, and the other by hate redoubled their efforts, and took so much pains, that they broke the King's peace, and made him jealous of Temugin. The Grand Can's troops and his being quartered together in the same province, the least motion of the Mogul troops appeared to Prince Sancoun treasonable designs. This young Prince lived in perpetual disquiet and mistrust ; he daily sent couriers with packets of letters to his father, in which he ceased not to advise him to be on his guard, and said all that his imagination or fears could invent against Temugin. Ounghcan was no longer proof against his son's solicitations, who conjured him earnestly to secure Temugin's person ; yet it was not without much reluctance that he at last consented to resolve on seizing upon him. For first the love he had for the * Princess his own daughter, and next his reflecting on the great services Temugin had done him, long kept him in suspense, and racked his soul : but his love for his son overcame all ; and the fear of Temugin's wronging him of the Crown when he was dead, as he was made to apprehend he designed to do, made him determine to secure his son-in-law.

* The Princess said to her Father weeping, my Husband is innocent, believe not these malicious tongues. *Abulcair.*



C H A P. III.

TEMUGIN'S RETREAT FROM OUNGHCAN'S COURT. HIS FIRST COMBAT WITH HIS FATHER-IN-LAW'S TROOPS. THE MOGULS REFUSE TO PAY TRIBUTE TO OUNGHCAN. TEMUGIN IS DECLARED GENERAL OF THE MOGUL ARMY.

WHEN Temugin's enemies were assured that the King had resolved to seize this Prince's person, they were overjoyed; * but as it often happens in the affairs of this world, that the success does not always answer our desires, and that fate often confounds our politic designs, the Mogul Prince's affairs took quite another turn than Ounghean and Gemouca expected.

Bata and Kischelik, two of the King's slaves, (some authors say, they belonged to an old lady of the Court) heard from a place where they were hid some part of this conspiracy; but particularly the resolution the King had taken to arrest Temugin. † They hastened to the hord where this Prince was encamped with his troops by the King's order, who had sent him from Court under pretence that his presence was necessary in the army, but in reality to get him away from his own guards; for all the soldiers adored the Mogul Prince, both because of the brave actions he had done in the field, and his liberality to them every where else, of which they had a grateful sense. ‡ These two slaves gave him notice to take care of himself; nay, it is said, that they told him the very day that was fixed to seize him.

Tho' Temugin could hardly credit what the slaves told him, yet he did not omit to thank them, and promised that on all occasions wherein he could serve them, he would manifest his gratitude for the affection they had shewed for him. After this, he consulted Caraschar, and the rest of his faithfullest friends, what to do; amongst whom it was resolved,

* *Temugin remained more than eighteen years in Ounghean's service. Mirconde.*

† *Ounghean was displeased with two young Men, who fled for safety to Temugin, who received them kindly, and hearkened to them. Marrakeschy.*

‡ *They even told him the time when Ounghean designed to fall upon him. Abulfarage.*

that they should not do any thing rashly, but lie in ambuscade on their guard, and if any came to attack them, defend themselves valiantly. And the slaves assuring him it was in his tent he was to be seized, Temugin ordered that all things of value should be removed out of it, that the pavilion and tents should be left standing, that all his family and officers should quit them, and that they should leave fires burning in the camp all night. Then he marched away with all his troops, to go and possess themselves of a narrow lane or pass.

Temugin's officers had no sooner executed his orders and departed, but Oughcan's troops, who had marched all night, arrived. They were far more numerous than Temugin's, and commanded by Sancoun and Gemouca. The Prince rid full speed up to the tents which he saw standing, and illuminated by the fires left within; * but the Mogul Prince's tent he chiefly aimed at, at which they shot a prodigious quantity of arrows, not doubting but the cries of the wounded would soon drive out the enemy they wanted to find: but they were much surprized when they could hear no voice or noise. They entered, and finding no body in that nor the other tents, they imagined fear had made the Mogul Prince betake himself to flight. They resolved to follow him; and looking on him not as an enemy whom they must fight, but as a man dismayed by his own guilt, who strove to escape from them, they followed the track where his army had gone, and never thought of keeping the soldiers in their ranks, who marched in disorder more like a confused multitude of men and horses, than an army.

Mean time, Temugin who was not above two or three leagues from his camp, had posted himself at the foot of a mountain in a narrow pass called Germeghah, covered by a wood, with a brook before him; but when he saw his enemies coming up to him in disorder, he passed the brook, and charged them so hotly, they had not time to discover who they were that assaulted them; which increased the disorder that was already amongst them, in such a manner, that Ough-

* They ran and pierced the tents with their arrows, but they perceived no body; then they sent detachment after him, but they could not find him. *Marrakeschy.*

Can's troops, after a very slight resistance, fled before him. In this fight they lost a great many soldiers and officers. The Prince Sancoun * himself was wounded in the face by an arrow, and was obliged to save himself, and all those that escaped from Temugin, by flying to Caracorom. This action happened Ann. Dom. 1193. Temugin had not six thousand men, and 'tis affirmed that he defeated ten thousand. He was then about forty years of age.

This first battle was a presage to him of a great many other victories. ' When the Divine Providence, ' says an Arabian Poet, throws down to thee the cable of good fortune, all creatures shall combine to ' render thee happy, even thy enemies shall contribute ' to it; and if thou meetest with any obstacle, fortune shall take care to remove it.' This was what befel the Mogul Prince in the end, those who strove to abase him were the cause of his rising; and it seemed as if he stood in need of their hatred and malice to establish him in his empire.

If the Grand Can had not suffered himself to be prepossessed against him, this Prince, who had already lived in his Court nineteen years, had past the rest of his life in the employments and station he had given him, and had been content with being a dependant Can under him: but God was determined to make use of him to punish Asia, whose crimes had armed his vengeance against them.

After this battle Temugin thought no more of any thing but how to secure himself from any farther insults, and to open himself a way to the throne. He strait retired with his forces near to the lake Baljouta † there he called together all his relations and friends; and the battle of Germeghah having as it were given a new lustre to his name, all the malecontents of the Grand Can's Court failed not to go and join with him. ‡ There daily arrived in his camp entire troops of soldiers, with their officers, who had before served under him, offering him their lives and fortunes.

* Sancoun was wounded, and a great number of *Keraïtes* killed. *Mirconde*.

† Some call it the fountain of salt water. *Ibid*.

‡ He retires from the field of battle to the Lake *Baljouta*, which is a salt Lake, and has not much water. *Abulcar*.

When he saw that he had an army strong enough to execute his designs, he quitted the lake Baljouta, and went and encamped on the frontiers of China, upon the banks of the river Cacoul *, at the foot of a very high mountain. He stayed there some months, which he very well employed: for in that time he accomplished his design of bringing all the officers and soldiers entirely into his interest; some by promises of rewards, and others, his particular friends, by the hopes of advancement: so that his whole army was disposed to follow him wherever he would lead them. Then he decamped, and marched for Mogolistan his native country.

His subjects the Yeca Moguls received him with transport, as a Prince whom they Passionately loved, and had lost with much regret. The inhabitants of Niron Cayat sent their deputies; nay, even some of the most considerable persons amongst them went in person to congratulate him on his return to his kingdoms, and offered him their assistance if he had occasion. He thanked them all for their good-will, retained those whom he thought most sincere, and concerted with them what measures to take to be revenged on his enemies. † It was immediately resolved in his council, that it should be publicly forbidden in all the Mogul Provinces to pay the customary tribute to the Grand Can Ounghean. But before this order was published, they sounded the people's temper; and knowing they feared Ounghean's power, they summoned several Diets, in order to dissipate their fears. The greatest part of the persons thus called, appeared. Temugin laid before them the miserable slavery they had long groaned under, the tyranny that was exercised over them, not only by the King of the Keraites, but by his favourites, to whom they paid intolerable tribute. He represented to them, that it was in their own power now to deliver themselves from this cruel yoke; that the Moguls, their Countrymen, who had been his companions in the late victory, were sensible that their persecutor was not invincible; that having at their head now a man who had gained so ma-

* It was also called *Caramouran*, i. e. the yellow River, *Crocus Fluvius*.

† He stayed some time near the Lake Baljouta, then decamped, and went to the frontiers of China, and there, encamped on the Bank of a River at the foot of a Mountain. *Mirconde*.

ny great victories for Ounghcan their enemy, they need not doubt but he would conquer for them also who were his subjects and friends : to conclude, knowing the power religion has over the people's minds, he finished with assuring them that this important enterprise which he now proposed to them, proceeded not from himself alone, but that the Almighty had inspired him with these thoughts, and sent him to deliver them from this heavy yoke of slavery.

This speech of Temugin made such an impression on the people's minds, that all the assembly gave him their applause, and promised to obey him. When he was thus assured of the good-will of his subjects, the Yeca Moguls and Niron Cayats, he raised only four thousand five hundred soldiers more, whom he joined to those he already had ; and then sent and proposed a league to the Commander of the Congorats, his Brother-in-law, for his Father-in-law the Can of Congorat was dead, whose daughter Purta Cougine was Temugin's second wife. With this Prince he made a league, as also with the Cans of the nation of Courlas ; but for those of the Soumoguls, or Tartars, they refused to enter into the league, till he constrained them to it by force of arms. The Cans of Mercat, seeing what had happened, chose to do freely what he would otherwise compel them to. And several tribes, after their example, put themselves under his command, notwithstanding they were solicited by some Cans to stand out, particularly those of Merkit, amongst whom Tousta Bey, the mortal enemy of Temugin's family, was the most powerful.

All the Cans of Soumogul, Mercat, Courlas, the Yeca Moguls, Niron Cayat, and some others, caused to be published in their dominions, that for the time to come, no more tribute should be paid to Ounghcan, on any cause or pretext whatsoever. Pursuant to this declaration, the people of all those countries pulled down the Officers, and drove away the King of the Keraite's receivers, who fled to Caracorom to give the King advice of this rebellion.

Ounghcan used all the means possible to oblige these petty sovereigns to return to their duty, but he could not gain his ends ; and at last despairing to obtain any thing of them by gentle means, he remitted all sorts of tribute, and impositions to the Merkites, who had not

revolted from him, and made large promises to Toucta Bey their principal Can, hoping that this party of the Moguls would balance the power of the other.

It is true, Temugin's cunning and wisdom was such, that all the Grand Can's threats and promises were ineffectual, either to regain or intimate the people's hearts; he knew so well how to guard his own frontiers, and those of his allies, that his enemies could not penetrate into their countries. In fine his conduct was such, that all the nations of his party looked upon him as their deliverer. Yet tho' he was very desirous to enter upon action, he omitted not to counsel the other Cans first to send an ambassador * to Ounghcan, to propose an accommodation, on condition that he should release them from all taxes, as he had done the Merkiters.

All the Cans left the management of this affair wholly to him, protesting they would approve of whatever he should think fit to do. Temugin cast his eyes on a man named Arnijoun (for so Fadlallah calls him.) He gave him all necessary instructions, and sent him away with all diligence; tho' perhaps in his soul he was less desirous of peace than he appeared to be by this action, and rather wished to be revenged. So soon as this Ambassador arrived at Ounghcan's Court, he desired audience, and was admitted to the King's presence; to whom, pursuant to his orders, he first made a recital of the services Pisouca had formerly done him: Next he reminded him of his breach of faith with Temugin, whom he had promised to protect, and never to hearken or give credit to any that should speak against him, or endeavour to cause distrust between them; and then hinted how contrary to this his promise, he had given credit to his enemies, without searching into the truth of the matters they laid to his charge, or giving him live to clear himself. Next he made a particular recital of the great services Temugin had done him, which were sufficient to secure him of his love and fidelity to him. At last, he concluded, with entreating him to grant peace to the Moguls, and renew the tender friendship that had so long been between him and his Son-in-law, which he would never have lost, had it not been for his enemies.

* They sent an Ambassador, but no peace was made. *Abulcain*.

Oughcan gave no answer to the Ambassador, but referred the affair to his Council's deliberation. Ar-nijoun retired to the tent which his attendants had prepared for him; and there the Prince Sancoun's partizans and Gemouca's friends treated him basely, and put a thousand indignities upon him, of which he loudly complained, but received not any satisfaction. He continued here a whole year in the utmost pain and uneasiness, Oughcan still putting him off from month to month; when he was still promised an answer to his proposals, but he never got any. At last he lost all patience, and sent his master an account of all that had past. Temugin sent him express orders to return, after having made one effort more to oblige the King to explain himself.

* Oughcan would willingly have made peace, but the Prince his Son, who still harboured in his breast the suspicions which Gemoucan had infused into him, and whose hatred seemed rather augmented by Temugin's defeating him, crossed this negociation, and hindered its coming to a good effect. For Sancoun was one of those obstinate persons, who when they have taken a thing in their heads to believe or do, are not to be convinced of their error; and therefore he himself carried the King's answer, and told the Ambassador, that the Moguls must not expect to obtain any peace but by submitting to whatever the King should please to require of them; that as for Temugin †, he would neither commune with, nor see him, but with their swords in their hands.

: So haughty an answer obliged the Ambassador Ar-nijoun to retire immediately. He soon arrived at Mogolistan, and rendered an account of his negotiations to the confederate princes, who were all so displeased at the Grand Can's insolence, that they renewed their protestations to throw off his yoke, and promised an inviolable faith to one another, calling heaven to witness their oaths, and then proceeded to prepare for War. Temugin, transported to see all

* Oughcan would really have made peace, but Sancoun opposed it with all his might. *Mirconde.*

† Sancoun said, there is betwixt Temugin and me no reason but the sword. *Ibid.*

things go as he wished, disposed himself to answer the confidence the Allies had placed in him.

The year following, being Ann. Dom. 1200. Sancoun, to show that he meant as he said, failed not to send some troops into Mogolistan to ravage the country, and spread a terror in the rebel's minds. But his designs were frustrated, his enemies defending themselves bravely. It is true, this year they did no great matters on either side; nothing considerable past: nevertheless, the Moguls always got the better, and beaty every party that encountered them: and Temugin gained much honor by his conduct.

The Grand Can, enraged with the ill success of his arms in Mogolistan, and being stung that these petty Princes should be able to resist him so long, caused troops to be levied all over his dominions, and drew together above thirty thousand men out of the provinces of Turquestan, Tendouc, and other places depending on his kingdom of Gelair. nevertheless whilst these new levies were marching to Caracorom, to join those of Caracatay, and other standing troops, he sent to summon the Moguls to surrender before it was too late, threatening to treat them with the utmost rigour if they returned not to their duty; promising, that on the contrary, if they would submit and trust to his clemency, they should receive all the satisfaction they required, and so prevent the dire effects of his anger, and their own inevitable ruin.

This concession of the King of the Keraites was enough to shake the constancy of the Confederates; but Temugin dispatched messengers immediately every way, to persuade the Moguls that Ounghean made these fine promises only to amuse and surprize them, and that they must put no trust in him. He thought it not enough to represent to them by his envoys what he had to say to them on this important subject; but he called an assembly at Manquerule, whither he invited all the Cans concerned. So soon as they were met, he informed them of what was then doing at Caracorom, shewing them letters which he had received from his correspondents there, and assured them that what they contained had been confirmed to him by his spies, which was that the Grand Can and his son had sworn the ruin of the Confederate Cans,

whom they already looked on as their slaves and vassals, and that they were resolved to put all to fire and sword in the Mogul Countries: They promise us, added he, good treatment, for no other reason but because they see us with our swords in our hands, and in a condition to defend ourselves; they wish no other but that we were so foolish as to fear them, or so credulous as to believe them; and then, alas, we were undone. Let us not basely deliver ourselves into our enemy's hands; believe me, let us bravely despise their threats and offers, and fear nothing, whilst we continue in a perfect union amongst ourselves.

Some Cans were at first of opinion to accept Ounghean's proposals; but others, less timorous, nobly opposed them. And it was at last resolved by the whole assembly, that every Can should bring into the field as many men as his tribe could furnish; that one half of the troops of the Mercats should remain behind to observe the Merkites, and guard the frontiers; that the war should be carried on with all imaginable vigour; and that, in fine, Temugin should be declared General of the whole army.

Then they immediately presented to this Prince the Topouz*; but he would not accept it but on condition that every man should promise to be entirely obedient to his orders, and that he should have full power to punish those who did not do their duty. They granted him all he asked, and then he received the staff of power. † After which, every one returned to his own country, and thought of nothing but putting their troops in a condition to take the field, and march to the general rendezvous.

Tho' Temugin had no cause to distrust the fidelity of his own people, yet to be the more secure of them, and to engage them firmer to his interest, he gave largesses to them, and all the rest of his army. And to shew that he knew how to recompense those that served him, being indebted for his life to the two slaves who left Ounghean's Court, and came to his camp to give him notice of that King's designs

* This is a staff of Authority, a short truncheon made of a particular fashion.

† It was in the year 1202, when this resolution was taken.

against him, he in publick acknowledged the obligation he had to them, gave them the praises they merited, made them considerable presents: and to honor them the more, declared them *Tercans* *, assigned them a revenue for their maintenance, and exempted them and their children from all taxes, † with a power to take first of the plunder that should be gotten in the war. He gave them likewise the privilege not to be obliged to divide the booty that they should take with the Prince's Receivers and Officers of the Customs. Besides all these privileges, he permitted them to enter into his tent whenever they pleased, without being obliged to ask leave of any of his Officers, and declared them exempt from all punishment whatever faults they committed, at least if it were not proved that they had committed a fault more than nine times. He added to all these favours, that these privileges should continue to the descendants of these two *Tercans*, even to the seventh generation, or, according to the report of some authors to the ninth.

But it was not these slaves alone that he shewed his gratitude; but he loaded with benefits all those who had left Oughcan to follow him, and chose out of them all his general Officers, and honored them with his friendship and places of trust.

* It is a Title that is given amongst the *Tartars* and *Moguls* to those who have received of their Princes some great privileges and advantages, which distinguishes them from the rest of his subjects. *Marrakeschy*.

† The *Tercan* is exempt from all duties; he divides not his booty with any body, not even with the prince's Custom Officers; he goes into the King's presence without asking leave; and is pardoned nine times, let the fault be what it will. *Abulfarage*.



CHAP. IV.

OUNGHCAN'S WAR WITH THE MOGULS. THE DEATH OF THAT KING, AND OF THE PRINCE HIS SON. TEMUGIN PROCLAIMED EMPEROR OF THE MOGULS, TARTARS, AND OTHER THE NORTHERN NATIONS OF ASIA.

TEMUGIN'S behaviour and liberality to the slaves, did him great service; for it gained him the hearts of a great many of the soldiers. All the Mogul Cans, except those whom Tousta-Bey and Gemouca had prevailed upon to enter into Oungcan's party, admiring his generosity, grew more zealous to second him in all his designs. When all the confederate troops were come together, Temugin named his Lieutenant Generals and other Officers; and, contrary to the custom of the Scythians, who used to attack their enemies in one main body, he divided his army into two wings, and in the centre placed his own troops as a body of reserve; which custom he ever after continued to use. And considering that fear often seizes those who are first attacked, he marched directly to the frontiers of the Grand Can's dominions, where he learned that his army was already in motion, which he resolved rather to attack than act on the defensive.

Tho' the spring was not yet come, yet the King of the Keraites had already got his troops into the field. * He made them take long marches so soon as he was informed that Temugin was already on his borders; but the baggage being very rich, and the waggons that belonged to his army heavy laden, and by consequence more troublesome than those of the Moguls, hindered their march; for which reason Temugin's army advanced swiftly, and soon arrived at the place where they designed to make a stand, and wait the enemy's coming up. It was in a plain called Tangut, belonging to the Keraites.

Temugin having learned in this place that the Grand Can was but three leagues and a half off from him, halted; and to encourage his soldiers, consulted

* Temugin marches with the Mogul army, and Oungcan comes to meet him with a great many forces. *Abulcair.*

the astrologers and magicians., Marcopolo reports, that this Prince ordered them to try his fate by * Wands, to see which of the two armies should be victorious.

This magical experiment was performed after this manner: † The magicians took a piece of green cane, which they split in two to make two sticks, which they set upright on the ground at some distance from one another, after having wrote on the one the name of Temugin (whom Marcopolo call Cingis) and on the other Ounghean (whom he names Umcan;,) then they told Temugin they would begin and read their conjurations, and that during their reading, the two canes, by the power of heir Idols, should approach near to one another, and begin a combat; at the conclusion of which the one should get up upon the other, which should preface that Prince should be victor, whose name was on the cane that was uppermost.

The Mogul army would be witness of this experiment. The Magicians read their book; the two sticks were presently in motion; they approached, touched and fought, and at last Ounghean's remained undermost. This prodigy so animated the Moguls and their commanders, that they marched boldly against the enemy.

But the Keraïtes, who were no less desirous of fighting then they, met them half way. The Grand Can, who commanded in person and the Prince his son, seemed to promise themselves an entire victory. The two armies being come in view of one another in the plain, strove to place themselves as advantageously as they could on both sides, and were drawn up in or-

* This experiment of the canes was then in use amongst the Tartars, and is still among the African, Turks, and other Mahometan nations. The Cojs, or Regiders of their Corsairs or Pirate Ships, commonly try this trick before they fight; and this is what they call, *Do the Book*. It is true that they often use arrows: two men sit on the ground over against one another, and hold each of them two arrows by the iron part or heads; the ends of the two contrary arrows are fixed together one in another by the notches where the bow string comes in shooting, so that the four arrows, together make as it were but two sticks in a parallel line. Then the Cojs reads a certain Arabian Prayer, They pretend that during this reading, these two pair of arrows, two of which represent the Christians, the other the Turks, shall approach one another, in spite of those that hold them, and after fighting the one pair shall get above the other. *Thevenot's Travels*.

† Cingis commande alii fuit astrologi & Incantatori che dovessero diran qual essercito doves haver vittoria. Costoro presa una canna verde, la divisero in due parti per lungo, &c. Marcopolo.

der of battle by their Generals, according to the best of their skill.

Mirconde, a Persian Author, desirous to represent the vast number of the combatants which composed those two mighty armies, makes use of an oriental hyperbole, and says, the neighing of the horses, and the cries of the soldiers, obliged heaven to shut its ear; and the air, by the great number of arrows they shot against one another, seemed to be a field of canes and reeds.

Temugin before the fight harangued his army once again in this manner: he first talked to them of the value of liberty, and what a glorious thing it was to be free, and then set before them the miseries of slavery: he represented to them, that this was the great day in which they must make themselves happy or miserable for the rest of their lives; that therefore they must fight bravely and conquer, or die like men in the bed of honour; that the Grand Can now made them pass for rebels, and looked on them as revolted slaves, but that he hoped, by their obtaining a glorious victory, they would convince the world of the wrong that had been done them by their enemy, who had so long usurped an authority over them and their lawful Princes, to which he had no right, and put a yoke of slavery on their necks; which they bravely throwing off, should no longer be his vassals and slaves, names which we scorn longer to bear, and which, said he, our enemies blood must wash off from us.

Oughcan failed not likewise to exhort his troops to fight, by shewing them, first, that their enemies were not so numerous as they, nor so well disciplined and skilful in the art of war. 'These rebels, said he, will quickly fly before us; they are not hardy soldiers enured to war like you.' (This Prince seemeth to have forgot, that Temugin, and the greatest part of those he talked of, had often defended him, and were not ignorant in any part of war, or timorous in fight.) He had made a longer speech to his army, if the Moguls had given him time; but the Prince Caraschar, who commanded the Van-Guard of Temugin's army, attacked theirs briskly, which was commanded by Gemouca. The combat was sharp; the personal hatred betwixt these two Generals rendered it obstinate and

bloody, Caraschar was overthrown. Then Suida Bahader, at the head of the old veteran troops joined with the Soumoguls, so vigorously charged Ounghean's main body, that they gave back; and Gemouca advancing to sustain them, after defeating Caraschar, was obliged also to give ground. At the same time Temugin's two wings of his army, the one commanded by Prince Hubbe, and the other by Prince Yrca, attacked the enemy's two wings. It is impossible sufficiently to command the bravery the troops showed on both sides for the space of three hours. The Keraites fought with so much courage, that the victory often seemed ready to declare itself on their side; tho' in the end the Moguls gained it; for Temugin, when he found it was time to advance with his corps de reserve, where he was with the Princes; his son, fell on with so much fury, that he overthrew all that opposed him. This advantage enflamed the Mogul's courage, and damped the Keraites, who began to give back, and break their ranks on all sides. Their King, and the Prince his son, used all their endeavours to rally them together again, but in vain. At last, they were obliged to betake themselves to flight, after their army's example, who being fallen into confusion, fled before the enemy, who eagerly pursued them, and made so great a slaughter amongst them, that all the fields were strewed with dead bodies. This victory greatly enriched the Moguls, who plundered the baggage, and found enough to satisfy their avarice. They also took abundance of prisoners, and a great number of horses.

In fine this day, which was fatal to Ounghean, decided Temugin's fate, who was then forty-eight years of age; for it put him into possession of the Kingdom of the Keraites, and all Caracatay; and the vanquished King not only lost forty thousand men killed in the fight, but had the grief of hearing that all his best troops which remained were gone over to his enemy. Some Historians reports that Ounghean was killed in this battle; but they are mistaken: It is true he was wounded in the fight, which wound obliged him at last to quit the command of his army, designing to retire to Caracorom; but seeing himself pursued by a troop of Moguls, he saved himself by flying to his enemy Tayancan, whose protection he imposed. His

retreating thither was much wondered at; every body being amazed that he should ask protection of a Can by whom he was hated, and in a Court where several great Naiman Lords whom he had ill used, who failed not to relate to their Prince all the injuries this now fugitive Prince had done their country; saying, that they supposed his flying thither was a further proof of his malice to them, since it could be with no other design but to draw the victor's anger upon the Naimans, to occasion their ruin, and involve them in his own misfortunes; which he could never bring about, tho' he often attempted it, during his prosperity.

Tayancan, who was naturally ungenerous, and had even more aversion to the grand Can than those who persuaded him to guard himself against him, gave ear to their discourses, and followed the counsel they all gave him, to put the Grand Can to death. Thus the Can of the Naimans, instead of succouring this ruined King, which had been far more honourable for him, and perhaps more advantageous, caused him to be seized. The principal Lords of this Court, resolving to take away this unfortunate Prince's life, held a great council, at which their Prince took care not to be present; vainly imagining that he should by this means screen himself from the reproaches of the other Cans, who might justly blame him for having basely violated the law of nations and hospitality; nay, he even pretended to be displeased at the death of his enemy; but when he saw at his feet this poor Monarch's head, which was presented to him, he could not conceal his joy, nor contain from insulting him, tho' dead, in words full of scorn and spite, which an author much blames in these words: 'It is a base action, says he, to tear or rend off a dead lion's beard.' The tongue in the head was two or three times put out of the mouth in Tayancan's presence, moving as the head lay cut off. At which some Lords who were skilled in astrology †, when the Can asked them whether this

* It is a base action to rend off the beard of a dead lion. *Abulcain.*

† *Rubruquis*, a French author, says, that in this country astrology was a science held in great estimation.

surprizing motion of the tongue presaged any ill to him or his Kingdom, answered, it was their opinion it presaged that Temugin should one day govern the Naimans, if good care was not forthwith taken to prevent it.

Sançoun accompanied the King his father to the borders of the Naimans; but fearing to hazard both their persons in one place, he parted from him, and retired in disguise secretly to Caracatay, where he lay concealed some time, and waited to hear news of his father: But when he was informed of his unfortunate death, he fled farther off, crossing Turquestan, and stopped not till he came to the Kingdom of Tebet, where he lived unknown.

The Kingdom of Tebet, of which no doubt but the reader will be glad to know some particular account, is situated between thirty and forty degrees of Latitude, and between a hundred and a hundred and ten degrees of Longitude, according to the situation, given it by the eastern geographers.* It contains part of the region called Ture-Hinde, because it is a part of Turquestan on the one side, and of India on the other. Some divide it into two parts, calling it the Great and Lesser Tebet. The Great borders on China, the Less, is situate to the east of the little Kingdom of Kaschemire, just behind the mountain; and they are both but six weeks journey over. This country is full of towns and villages well inhabited; the people are so good humoured and cheerful, that they breathe nothing but joy and pleasure. But what is most surprizing, is, that there is a mountain called Jabat Assumoum†, which inspires all those with melancholy who come near enough but to smell it, nay, even turns their tongues black, in such a manner, that they remain black all the rest of their lives.

‘Tis from this country that red sulphur is brought, and the finest tyger-skins, as also that excellent musk that is generally called, the musk of Tebet; it is taken from a ‡ creature much like wild goat, and yet in some

* Tebet is a great country whose capital city bears its name. It is situated between *Corassana* and *China*, and a part of *India*. It makes part of the country of the *Turks*. *Bin Alouardi's* geography.

† That is to say, the mount of poison.

‡ Named in the *Arabic* tongue *Dabat Almisa*.

thing resembling a hog. But in a city called Schage, there is a sort of rat * whose navel produces such precious musk, that it surpasses all other. It is very much sought after, is often very scarce, and generally very dear; and this is the reason that the Tebet musk is always preferred before the Indian and Chinese. Here is also found much Civet; and the Rhubarb that grows here is extremely valued.

The women are handsome tho' tawney, and they have one particular quality which many people would not dislike, that is, to steal children from one another to sell, and their husbands do the same. It is in this country that the maids cannot marry before they have had commerce with some man; and she who has had the most lovers, is the most advantageously married. The great number of gallants passes for a mark of the merit and fine qualifications of a maid; and the husband values her according to the presents she has received from her lovers, which he looks on as her portion. Their being thus prostituted while single, does not render them vicious after marriage; but, on the contrary, it seems that they become more chaste for being debauched, it being very rare to find one who is not faithful and true to her husband.

But to return to Sancoun: This Prince, after having lived some time in the Kingdom of Tebet, returned to Turquestan, and staid in the city of Caschgar, or Casgar †, where he lived, as he had done elsewhere, without discovering himself to any body. But one day, having observed some Moguls, whom he had seen at Carrcom in Temugin's train, he imagined they were spies come to seek after him; and fearing to be taken, he speedily returned into the Kingdom of Tebet, where he had no better fortune than Ounghean his father; for being seized for a spy, he was put to death, Ann. Dom. 1202.

Temugin was no sooner informed of Ounghean's death, but without loss of time he continued to seize the Grand Can's dominions, as his right by conquest; and thus he soon became master of all his treasures and palaces. And Sancoun being no where to be found, he remained the peaceable possessor of all the Kerakes

* Called *Ferat Almife*:

† The town from whence the Swedes took their origin, according to M. *Sparvenfeldt*; & Swede:

countries. The neighbouring Princes who feared Ounghean because he was more potent than they, saw with joy the war the Moguls waged against him, hoping that it might diminish his forces, and weaken his power; but they little thought his Crown and Kingdoms would all fall entirely into Temugin's hands: and thus their fear did not cease, but changed its object.

It was about the end of the year 1202, that this Prince, being forty nine years of age, retired into his own country; where he was received with the acclamations, not of his own people and subjects only, but of all the confederate Moguls who had been sharers in this victory, or because of this his success were obliged to come and testify their acknowledgments to him, believing they could never be thankful enough to him for having delivered them all from Ounghean's tyranny, whom they called the persecutor of their nation; and charmed with Temugin's valour, wisdom, and love to them, they praised him to the skies. He failed not to make advantage of this opportunity so propitious to his designs. He again used his eloquence the power of which he had experienced, and promised the Moguls great fortunes, if they would but zealously second him in what he desired. The people, gained by his rhetoric, and by the great things their countrymen and friends who had accompanied him in the war related of him every where, resolved to chuse him their grand Can or Cham, that is to say, Emperor of all the tribes. The Cans who had been the companions of his victory, finding their account in advancing him to this great dignity, animated the other Cans to follow their example. The presents Temugin made them, under pretence of dividing with them the riches of the vanquished king, and the fear of being forced to do what was pretended to be necessary for the honour and welfare of the Mogul nations, made them all yield, with a seeming willingness, to Temugin's request, and agree to his being Emperor.

Messengers were dispatched to the absent Cans, to acquaint them with what had been resolved in the great assembly that was held for this purpose. The Coronation of this Prince was then agreed on; and they thought no place so proper to perform this

ceremony in as the province of Yeca-Mugul, at Dilon Ildac, where Temugin was born. The people run from all parts to be eye-witnesses of this great ceremony, where the principal actor soon came, accompanied by all the Cans his partizans. He placed himself upon a plain seat, which they had set for him upon an eminence, from whence he harangued the assembly with his usual eloquence. His speech being ended; they placed him upon a black felt carpet, which they had spread on the ground; and the person who was ordered to give the people's voice, pronounced to him aloud the people's pleasure in this manner: first he told him, that whatever authority or power he had given him, was derived from Heaven, and that God would not fail to bless and prosper his designs, if he governed his subjects well and justly; but that, on the contrary, he would render himself miserable if he abused that power, which the black felt on which, he sat, did intimate to him. After this remonstrance seven Cans, or Princes, lifted him up with a ceremonious air, and bare him to the throne which was prepared for him in the midst of the assembly. Then they proclaimed him Emperor, and gave him the title of Grand Can, or Cham, of all the Mogul nations, even of the Merkites, whom they declared rebels for not submitting to him. Then they bowed their knees nine times before this their new Emperor, to shew the obedience they promised to him. The people, after their example, made him nine bows, accompanied with acclamations and shouts of joy, to assure their new Emperor that they would absolutely submit, and be obedient in all things whatsoever he should command them to do.

He promised on his part, to govern them with as much justice as mercy, and to defend them against all their enemies, always to procure their good and ease, to acquire glory and fame for them, and make their names known to all the earth. And having much cause to praise the Soumoguls (who are particularly called Tartars *; by reason of the river Tata that

* 'Tis from hence that the several *Seythian* nation who became subjects to *Temugin* were by degrees called by a general name, either *Moguls* or *Tartars*; but the last name having in the end prevailed, all *Scythia* is now called *Tartary*, both in the west and southern parts of *Asia*.

waters their country) he declared in the Mogul language, that he would add to his title of Emperor of the Moguls that of Grand Cham of the Tartars, both to do that nation honour, and testify to them the respect he had for them, and how well he was satisfied with their conduct tho' they had been once his enemies.

This ceremony was performed during the reign of Philip Augustus, King of France; and was no sooner over, but the Grand Can distributed presents, first to the great people, and then more largesses to the populace, to show his liberality. He continued the festival of his Coronation by magnificent treats, according to the custom of those nation, many days; and after they were ended, and he had in particular made merry with his friends he dismissed the people, and thanking his friends the grateful sense he had of their love and services to him, and assured them of his future favour and protection.

Whilst this was transacting, a brother of Ounghcan came to offer his service to Temugin, and his daughter in marriage. This Prince was called Hakembou. The Grand Can received him favourably, and after having spoken handsomely of the deceased King of the keraites, this Prince's brother, he gave him the employ he desired, and accepted of his daughter with joy, protesting that he would always have for her and him much respect. I owe you said he, a kind treatment, in acknowledgement of that kind reception your brother gave me, and the affection he showed for me in my misfortunes. In truth, tho' I never gave him any just cause to be angry with me, or in any kind offended or wronged Prince Sancoun his son, but, on the contrary, did them many considerable services, yet they conspired against my life, and looked on me as the greatest of their enemies; yet I never blamed them, but imputed all their persecutions of me to Gemouca, Their hatred to me was his work alone, and I

It is true, name *Tata*, or *Tatar*, was not altogether unknown in the east and North. It was of long standing amongst the *Chinese*. Before the coming of our Jesus Christ, and for some time after, they had had war with a nation who was not known to them but by the name of *Tata*. These were, without question, the *Scythians*, and some other nations; for the name of *Tartars* was not known in any other country before *Gengizcan's* time.

It must be observed, that the *Chinese* have no *r* in their alphabet, they therefore pronounce *Tata* or *Tartar*.

have not a jot the less respect for their memories, tho' they fought my life, than if they had continued always my friends.

The Keraite Prince, thanked Temugin for his favours, and took leave, setting out with all diligence to go where his employ demanded his presence. The Grand Can fully designed to marry his daughter; but perceiving that the Captain of his guard, whom he much esteemed and honoured with his friendship, was fallen in love with this Princess, he gave her to him in marriage, and the marriage-feast was kept at his expence, with much splendor.

Seeing himself Emperor of so many nations, he thought less of enjoying peaceably his new greatness, and tasting the pleasures of Empire in repose, than of rendering himself still more worthy of his good fortune, by new exploits. His enemies, jealous of his greatness, soon furnished him with the opportunities he wanted to aggrandise himself and people. The first commotion was in Caracatay. But before I proceed to relate these wars, it is necessary that I speak a few words of Caracatay.

'Tis a large country that extends itself from the south to the north from the Chinese wall even to the ancient Mogolistan *. It is bounded on the west by mount Imans, and on the east by the ocean and China. It is divided amongst several Princes, and inhabited by several different nations or sorts of people. It contains the kingdoms of Tangut, the Naimans; and many others. † Some European geographers have taken it for Cathay, but were deceived for want of knowing that Cathay, was China itself.

The name of Caracatay, was given to the country of Scythia, after a furious war, which the Scythians had with the Chinese. The Scythians had at the beginning of this war, the advantage of the Chinese, and being puffed up with this good success, entered the Kingdom of China; but having lost one considerable battle, they were obliged to retire, and return back to their own country. The King of China, resolving

* Called in the Mogul tongue *Ancou* or *Avencouh*.

† Some geographers will have it that even the *Calmucks* country and the Kingdom of *Courge* which is the *Corea*, is a part of it; and *Caracatay* is also called *Khita* or *Khentan* by the Orientals.

not to lose the advantage this victory had given him, caused them to be pursued by two of his Generals, * who entirely routed and brought them under his obedience. He did yet more ; for fearing lest the Scythians should revolt, he made these two generals who had beat them, Cans, or Governors, over them : and they, by his command built forts and strong towns for colonies of Chinese troops ; which he sent thither to awe them. These forces, destined to guard the country, held the people long in subjection ; but by degrees their descendants forgot the Chinese customs, and using to live as the Scythians, became Scythians themselves : and in the end, China had no greater enemies than they.

When the King of China established these two Generals in the sandy Scythia, he gave it the name of Caracatay, alluding to the name of his own country Cathay † ; and to signify the conquest he had made, and show it was an acquired dominion, he added the Epithet Cara, a word used by the Tartars and Turks to signify black, to distinguish these two countries from one another ; yet in time they have been confounded by people who did not consider the Epithet Cara, which makes the difference betwixt the two countries, and that Caracatay is barren and unpleasant, and on the contrary, Cathay, that is, China, is a fine country, fruitful, and filled with all sorts of good things.

* These generals were *Quimping* and *Quinching*.

† Conquerors are used to do so ; and our Kings have always comprehended under the name of *France* the countries they have subdued.



C H A P. V.

THE MOGULS WAR AGAINST THE CAN OF NAIMANS.
TEMUGIN'S EXPEDITION AGAINST TOUCTA BEY, CAN
OF THE MERKITES. REGULATIONS OF THE MOGUL
ARMY.

TAYANCAN Prince of the Naimans * one of the most considerable Princes of Caracatay, and father-in-law to Temugin, was astonished at his son-in-law's greatness and good fortune; which gave, him some disquiet, notwithstanding the union and good understanding there had been of long time between them. And the same man who had been the cause of the King of the Keraites ruin, persuaded Tayancan, to declare war against the new Emperor.

† Gemouca, a Prince of the tribe of Jaquat, after the battle was fought in the plain of Tangut, having fled with the rest, thought he could not secure himself any way so well as to offer his service to the Can of the Naimans, tho' he had heard of the death of Oungchan the King of the Keraites. Tayancan, who knew him by report to be a man of great abilities, accepted his offers. Gemouca having gathered as much of the scattered remains of Oungchan's army as he could meet with, repaired to Tayancan's court, where he arrived attended by a tolerable number of good soldiers, and almost all the officers that had escaped the enemy's hands. The Can received him very well, and promised him and his friends employments, suitable to their merits. Gemouca, who had a very subtle wit, and was well skilled in all the arts of courts, soon gained so great an ascendancy over Tayancan, that he could persuade him into doing any thing he counselled him to, and so prevailed easily upon him to make war with the new Mogul Emperor, whom he boasted he knew perfectly, having long conversed with and studied him. He is said he, a man of an unbounded ambition, and has

* These Naimans were the people whom the ancients called the *Iffedon-Scythians*, and their capital city is *Iffedon* in *Scythia*, to which the moderns have given the name of *Succuir*.

† Temugin's old rival Gemouca, went to Tayancan. It is necessary, says he, that friends should join to attack an enemy. *Abulcair*.

no other view but to ruin all Princes, and quarrels with them on purpose, to invade their dominions. Nor had he quarrelled with the Emperor Ounghean and Princes Sancoun, but because he is one of the most ungrateful and perfidious of all men living: and at the same time that he was loaded with their favour and possessed the honour of their alliance and affection, he meditated on nothing, but the horrible design of depriving them both of their empire and lives.

Tho' this discourse was nothing but pure calumny and falsehood, and that Tayancan was not ignorant that he who spoke it was a deceitful sycophant, yet he gave ear to him. The great power Temugin had over the Moguls, the conquests he had made of several provinces of Caracatay, and his being so near him, and so powerful, rendered him uneasy; but above all, Temugin's warlike disposition, and his continual exercising his troops, made Tayancan think him dangerous. Thus, less seduced by Gemouca's solicitations than by his own fears and jealousies, he took up a resolution to go to war with him. For this effect, he asked the assistance of some other Princes, whose interest it was to put a stop to the new Emperor's growing greatness. He sent Ambassadors to Toustabey, and other Cans of the Merkites, who desired no better than to join with him. The Can of Ouyrat, and the Can of Kerit, who was a relation of Ounghean, entered into this league; and Gemouca engaged the whole nation of the Jagerats, who soon sent him all their troops.

Temugin, on the other hand, was informed of these practices by his correspondents and spies, and even by Alacou, Can of the tribe of Carluc, * who sent him word that Tayancan had proposed to him to join their forces together. A relation of Alacou carried Temugin the very letter the Naiman Can had writ, in which were contained all the particulars of the conspiracy, and the names of the Cans before mentioned, who were engaged in it.

The Emperor of the Moguls, on this advice, con-

* *Condemir* says that this Prince was a great astrologer, and that he had by his skill discovered that *Temugin's* planet was turned towards the zenith of glory, and that on the contrary, *Tayancan's* declined towards the Nadir of humiliation.

vened his council, which was composed of his uncle Utegekin, the Prince Caraschar, and some other persons; he also would have his own eldest son Prince Jougï, otherwise called Touschy, assist at the said council. He had no sooner made known to them the wicked intentions of the Can of the Naimans, but war was resolved on. Then the Grand Can's orders were sent to all parts to his officers, and new levies were made. It was in the beginning of the year 1203, that his army was called together. So soon as the Emperor arrived, his tents were set up, and he assigned the command of each troop to such officers as he thought proper, to whom he gave his orders.

Then he sent Prince Cubla and Prince Hubbe with their troops, to discover the enemies. These two Captains went as far as the banks of the river Altay, where they learned by some prisoners whom they took in their march, the state of the enemies: They informed them that Tayancan was preparing to come into the field; that the troops of Merkit, Kerit, Ouyrat, and Jagerat, were already come to the Naiman's camp; that Gemouca was to command one part of them; and, that it was reported in Tayancan's army, that he desired to meet and fight the Moguls. Cubla and Hubbe being informed of all they wanted to know, returned back with their troops to the frontiers, and sent the Emperor word of all they had learned. And waiting his answer and orders, they intrenched themselves in an advantageous post; because being far from the main body of the army, they feared being surprised: yet they often ventured to go forth of their intrenchments, to make inroads into the enemy's country.

However, all that was told these Captains was not true; for Tayancan, following the advice of his council, far from going to seek out Temugin, waited his coming. He thought he ought to hearten up his troops by rest, rather than tire them with long marches. He was persuaded that his son-in-law would not fail to come and attack him; and he flattered himself that Temugin's army, after having travelled so vast a way as the Moguls must necessarily do, and through the scarcity of victuals they must suffer in the deserts they must pass thro' would easily be overcome by an army, fresh and in full strength.

One part of what Tayancan imagined, came to pass; for Temugin coming up with the main army, joined the troops on the frontiers which he had sent before. There he stayed, and refreshed his soldiers as well as the place would permit; and then quitting his own country, he marched in good order to the banks of the river Altay; and no troops appearing to dispute the passage over it, he was much surprised, because he did not expect to cross it without opposition. It is certain, he must have suffered much if any, had resisted, tho' ever so few. But Tayancan, altho' Gemouca, whom he had made his Lieutenant-General, represented to him that it was much better to prevent and meet the enemy, than to wait their coming; that in so doing he would prevent the Moguls ravaging his country; that his soldiers not being so well trained to war, so hardy as Temugin's should be led farther off from their own country, lest the conveniency of retreating in a place so well known to them, should render them more cowardly and apt to fly: Tayancan, as I said, instead of hearkening to his advice, or the Moguls weariness, by giving them no time to recover, flattered himself that their horse was by this time in a bad condition, and the farther they came, the less able they would be to fight; and on the contrary, his troops being in full strength, would easily get the victory: and so staid in the heart of his country expecting Temugin, who soon arrived.

This Emperor's army was neither so fatigued or ill fed as his father-in-law imagined, because he had taken care to provid good store of dryed flesh, to serve when the fresh meat failed; besides which, the officers and great men had all made provision of Cammez * and the medner persons, goats milk dressed and hardened †; they had also brought abundance of forage in those countries that had plenty: In fine, the imprudence of Tayancan gave time to the Moguls to recover their fatigue, and well recruit themselves. Tayancan contented himself with sending out scouts to discover

* Mare's milk.

† This boiled milk serves the *Tartars* for several use in their need. They make a sort of pottage with it; then put it into a little barrel with water and tie it under their horses belly, whose jogging on, makes the hard milk, dissolve in the water, and so they eat it without any other dressing.

them, when they were near at hand; and when he heard they were coming towards him, and some experienced Captains whom he had sent to view them, convinced him how formidable the enemy was, he began to repent that he had not followed Gemouca's counsel.

The Can of the tribe of Jagerat, tho' he saw too well that Tayancan had committed a great fault in despising his advice, yet showed not the least discontent, nor appeared less zealous for the common cause. He harangued his officers, speaking to them of Temugin's vast ambition, that excited him to endeavour to reign over all the Cans; as also, that they should reflect how he had already got possession of the greatest part of the Mogul nations, and many tribes of the country of Caracatay: at last he concluded with exhorting them to fight valiantly for their liberty.

When the armies were in fight of one another, and ranged in order of battle, Prince Jougi, and one of his uncles, began the fight, charging Tayancan's army with much vigour; but Cachluc, Tayancan's Son, sustained the shock with such courage and resolution, that his troops gave no ground. These two young Princes, whom the love of glory equally enflamed, used all their endeavours to show that neither would yield precedence to the other, either in skill or valour. The mutual resistance the Van-Guards made on both sides, engaged by little and little the other corps, and both armies came to blows.

* The fight lasted from the rising to the setting of the sun, and was as bloody as obstinate. Tayancan performed all the parts of a good General; and Gemouca, spurred on by the particular hatred he bore the Grand Can, signalised himself by a thousand heroic actions; but Temugin seemed to have victory at his back. The Moguls fought with such rage and boldness, that at last they broke the enemies ranks, put them to flight, and made terrible slaughter of them. † Tayancan was wounded mortally, and died soon after, of his wounds. Cachluc his son, and

* The furor of the fight continued glowing from morning till evening, says Condemir.

† Tayancan was killed, Cachluc slain, as also the Moguls of Merkit, Onyrat, and Jagerat. Abulkair.

Tousta-Bey, fled with all those that escaped out of the Moguls hands. As for Gemouca, his rage made him venture too far, for he was taken prisoner; and after the battle his head was struck off, he being looked on as the principal cause of all the bloodshed and miseries of this war.

After this happy success, the Kingdom of the vanquished became a prey to the Conqueror, who brought under his obedience a vast tract of land. * The war thus finished, Temugin returned to Caracorom, where, during the winter, his court was filled with Ambassadors, some of whom were sent to congratulate him on his victories, and others to ask his protection, or to offer submissive terms to him, from their masters.

Almost all the Calmuc tribes in the eastern parts, put themselves under his protection; but on the north some tribes remained, whose Cans, jealous of their liberty, refused to ask his favour; and some Mogul tribes who were farthest out of Temugin's reach, followed their example. Tousta-Bey strove all he could to foment their hatred against the Emperor. He having once been very great, and a powerful Prince in Mogolistan, could not bear to see the sudden greatness of the new Emperor, who was but a Mogul subject once as well as he; and therefore Tousta-Bey was not one of the last who joined Tayancan. Temugin also looking on him as his worst enemy, resolved to turn his arms against him; not out of dislike only, but because this Can had so highly injured him, that he had a just pretext to finish his conquest of Mogolistan.

He past the winter in regulating the affairs of those countries he had conquered; and after having given orders to his Generals to put his troops in a readiness to march against the tribes of Merkit, who were now joined by some Tanjouts, and Prince Cachluc Tayancan's son, he set out in the beginning of the spring of the year 1204, at the head of a powerful army.

† Tousta-Bey was not insensible what thoughts and

* After the gaining this famous victory, Temugin reduced to his obedience the greatest part of the Mogul people, whom he brought into subjection by this victorious sword. Candemir, (who places this event in the year 1205, but that cannot be.)

† It was the time of the year when day and night were equal, that Temugin, with an army like a rolling sea, marched against Tousta-Bey, the Can of the Merkites. Candemir.

resentments Temugin must have of his conduct; yet flattering himself that notwithstanding the ill-fortune he had had, he should one time or other be more successful, was not unprovided, but also made great preparations for war; yet when he heard that his imperious enemy approached his Capital city Cachin with so great an army, the like of which was never seen before in Mogolistan, his heart failed, and he with his eldest son fled * to Boiruc, Tayancan's brother, to whom Cachlue was already fled for shelter. The Grand Can by this means found none to oppose him but some fugitives who were flying from the danger.

† The city of Cachin endeavoured to make defence, and seemed resolved to stand a long siege; but notwithstanding they made a vigorous resistance at first, yet they were in a little time obliged to surrender, and Temugin put all to the sword who had opposed him. After which he made an oath of fidelity to be administered, not only to those to whom he committed the charge of the fortrefs, and all the tribe of Cachin, but even to all others of the people who were of the tribe of the Merkits; and all the Cans whom he pardoned, swore to obey him.

After having given all necessary orders in the Merkit's country, his new acquired dominions, he returned to his capital; where he was no sooner arrived, but having considered the vast number of his conquests, he judged it proper to prevent disorder and confusion, by regulating his Empire. For this cause ‡ he called a general diet, which he ordered to be held on Nourouz, that is to say, the first day of the spring of the year 1205, the same day that the sun enters into Aries. He sent messengers to the Princes his sons who were far off, and to the other Princes of the blood; he also sent to the Cans, Emirs, and all the great Officers to whom he had given the Government of the countries he had conquered, and, in fine, to all the great Lords, either Moguls or Tartars.

* In the spring Genghizcan marched against Toucta-Bey, who did not stay his coming to him, but fled to Boiruc. *Abulcair.*

† When he came before Cachin, he besieged the castle, and having taken it in a short time, he razed it, and put all those to the sword who resisted him. *Mirconde.*

‡ He called a diet in the winter, and early in the spring Genghizcan ascended the throne. *Abulcair.*

In the mean time, not to continue idle, he resolved to establish good orders in the army which he had with him. He divided the soldiers into several toman; * at the head of each toman he placed a chief officer or General, under whom he appointed ten officers, who each commanded a hezare; † and every one of these ten officers had ten other officers under him, each of these commanded a fede; ‡ and the centurion had under him ten lesser officers, each of which commanded a dehe §. The Generals of these toman were to act under the command of some one of the Grand Can's sons. ¶ This was the manner in which Temugin divided his troops into corps; after which, he disposed of these employments to such men as were most capable and worthy of them. Then he considered maturely of making new laws, of which a memorial was by his order drawn up, which he communicated to his privy-council, before he exposed it to the General Diet.

* These were corps of battalions of ten thousand men.

† A regiment of a thousand men.

‡ A company of a hundred men.

§ A little body of soldiers composed of ten men.

¶ He divided the troops that have served him against the Mongols into toman, hazaries, fedes, and dehes, and made these employments hereditary to the sons of every officer. *Mircande.*



C H A P. VI.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE GENERAL DIET OF THE MOGULS, CALLED IN THEIR LANGUAGE COURILTAY. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE YASSA, THAT IS TO SAY, THE MOGUL LAWS. TEMUGIN CHANGES HIS NAME FOR THAT OF GENGHIZCAN.

WHEN the Princes of the Blood, * the Nevians, Cans, Emirs, and other Lords who were to compose the General Diet, were arrived at the place the Mogul Emperor had appointed, and that the first day of the spring was come, they dressed themselves all in white. The Grand Can dressed like the rest, came to the assembly. Then he sat down upon his throne in the midst of the Princes of the Blood, with his Crown upon his head, all the Cans and other Lords † wishing the continuation of his prosperity and health, which was followed with shouts of joy, and loud acclamations of all the people who were present at the assembly. After which, not contented to confirm the Mogul empire alone to him and his successors they added all those kingdoms and nations he had subdued, and declared even all the descendants of those vanquished Princes deprived of all right or title to any of those dominions. ‡ When he had thanked them all for the marks of love and respect they showed him, being sensible that the chief duty of a Prince is to establish good laws, he declared to them that he thought to add to the ancient laws of the land some new ones which he desired, and commanded that they would observe.

THE LAWS OF GENGHIZCAN §.

By the First Law it is ordained to believe that there is but one God the Creator of Heaven and

* Temugin ordered his Sons, the Emirs, Nevians, and all the great men of *Mogolistan*, to assemble; and the *Turcomans* call this sort of assembly *Couriltay*. *Condemir*.

† All the assembly made vows for his prosperity.

‡ After the salutations they began to read the *Yussa*. *Abulcair*.

§ The laws in the *Mogul* language are called *Yassa*, and sometimes *Yasac*. some authors give them the name of *Altoura*, but it is very improperly; because this word *Altoura* ought not to be used but for the law of *Moses*. *Abulcair*.

Earth, * who alone gives life and death, riches and poverty, who grants and denies whatsoever he pleases, and who has over all things an absolute power.

It seems that Temugin had not published this law, † but to shew what religion he was of; for far from ordaining any punishment or persecution against those who were not of his sect, he forbid to disturb or molest any person on account of religion, and desired that every one should be left at liberty to profess that which pleased him best, on condition that he believed there was but one God. Some of his own children, as also some of the Princes of his Blood were Christians, and others made profession of Judaism or Mahometanism, or else were like him, Deists; for his sect was more followed in Tartary than any other, tho' there were also a great many idolaters. ‡

II. He ordained by another law, that the heads of sects, the religious, the devotees, the criers of the mosques, and those that wash the dead, should be exempted from all public offices as well as the physicians.

III. He forbade, under pain of death, that any Prince or other person whatsoever, should ever presume to cause himself to be proclaimed Grand Can or Emperor, without having first been duly elected by the Princes, Cans, Emirs, and the other Mogul Lords, lawfully assembled in a General Diet.

IV. The heads of nations were by a particular law forbidden to use all titles of honour, which they affected to have, in imitation of the Mahometans. He

* To adore one God alone was the first law. *Mirconde.*

† Tho' this law had been long observed by the Tartars in its purity, and is at this day by a great many of them; yet superstition had by little and little introduced idolatry into their religion: tho' the superstitious did not think it to be contrary to the lawgivers intention; to save which, those of the Tartars who were neither Christians nor Mahometans introduced a distinction between a celestial God and a terrestrial. They always adored the first, yet the second failed not to find a place in their houses under the form of an idol, or statue, covered with felt, and named *Natigay*. They accompanied this with others, which they said were the image of his wife and children; and they address'd themselves to these images when they had any domestick wants. *Rubraquis.*

‡ *Dicono esservi il Dio alto sublime & celeste al qual ogni giona tributo, & incensa non domandon altro se non buon intelletto & sanita. Ne hanno poi un altro che chiamano Natigay che a modo di una statua coperta de feltro.* *Marcopola.*

also forbids that any should give to the Emperor who succeeded him, any title but that of Caan, with two aa. He desired that for the time to come all his subjects should call him by the plain title of Can; which was ever after practised by all that spoke to him: *But when any person writ to him, they always added some other of his titles to that of Can.

V. He ordained that peace should never be made with any King, Prince, or people, till such time as they were entirely subdued.

VI. The dividing of the troops into tens, hundreds, was also made a standing order, as a thing very commodious in raising an army with more speed, and to make detachments with ease and order.

VII. That when there was a necessity of taking the field, the soldiers should receive their arms from the officer's hands, with whom they should be left at the end of the campaign. † That they should be obliged to keep their arms clean, and in good condition, and to shew them to their commanders whenever they were getting ready to give battle.

VIII. It was forbidden, on pain of death, to pillage the enemy before the General had granted leave: but it was likewise ordained that the meanest soldier should have the same advantage as the officer, and remain master of the booty he should be found possessed of, on condition he paid to the Can's receiver the duties or share specified by the laws.

IX. Temugin being sensible that continual exercise was necessary for his soldiers, to keep them in good order; and hunting appearing to him the most proper employment to exercise his troops, he ordained that every winter the hunting of beasts should be performed in the manner following.

* As we in Europe use only the plain title of king; and not like the *Turks*, who neither speak nor write to their Sovereign without joining with his name some pompous title, as that of most happy, most powerful, invincible, or, the disposer of crowns, &c.

† In brief, they shewed to their Generals both edge and point and were obliged by this law to carry all their arms so soon as the war was finished, into the King's store-houses, from whence they fetched them in the winter for hunting, which they always exercised themselves withal when no warlike occasion presented to use them. *Fadlallah*.

X. That from the month which with us is March, to that which answers to our October, no person should take stags, deer, roe-bucks, hares, wild asses, nor some certain birds, to the end that the court and soldiers might find sufficient game during the winter, in the huntings they were obliged to make.

XI. It was likewise forbid to cut the throats of the beasts a man should kill: He must tie the legs, rip up the belly, put in his hand, and pluck out the heart.

XII. The ordinance that the blood and entrails of beasts should be permitted to be eaten, was made in his time, and put amongst his laws; whereas it was forbidden the Moguls, before then, to eat the blood or inwards of beasts. But as he was one day returning from an expedition, provisions fell short for the soldiers, and they were almost faint with hunger: then meeting with a great quantity of beasts inwards newly killed by people who had been hunting in a great party, hunger constrained them to eat them; nay the Emperor himself eat with them: and from that moment the Prince, considering how useful this food might be to his troops on the like occasion, resolved to give liberty to all his subjects to eat them, and afterwards made it a law.

XIII. The privileges and immunities granted to the Tercans was regulated in the manner already related.

XIV. To banish idleness out of his dominions, he obliged all his subjects to serve the public in some kind or other. Those who went not to the wars, were obliged at certain seasons of the year to work so many days on the public structures, or do some public work for the state, and one day in every week employ themselves in the service of the Emperor in particular.

XV. The law against thieving was, that he who stole any thing of considerable value, as an ox, or other thing equal to that in price, should be punished with death, and their bodies cut asunder in the middle with a hanger. That those who theft was not of value enough to merit death, should receive so many blows with a cudgel, either more or less, in proportion to the value of the thing stolen. The number of these blows were generally seven, seventeen, twenty-seven, thirty-seven,

and so on to seven hundred; but to punishment might be bought off by paying nine times the value of the thing stolen. The exactness with which this law was observed, secured all the Moguls and Tartars who were subjects to the Grand Can, from robbing.

XVI. It was forbidden all his subjects throughout his dominions to take any person for his domestick servant who was of his own nation, to the end that they might all addist themselves to war, and be obliged to take care of the captives they should take, whom they must preserve for their own service. He likewise published two ordinances: by the one it was forbidden, on pain of death, to all Moguls and Tartars to give meat or drink to another person's slave, as also to lodge or clothe one, without permission from his master; and the other ordinance obliged under the same penalty, all persons that should meet in the way with fugitive slave, to seize and bring him back to his master.

XVII. By the law concerning marriages it was ordained that the man should buy his wife, and that he should not marry with any maid to whom he was a kin in the first or second degree; but in all other degrees it was permitted: so that a man might marry two own sisters. Polygamy was permitted, and the free use of their women slaves; which was at last the occasion of that great liberty, that every man took as many wives and slaves as he could maintain. * The management of the man's fortune, amongst the Tartars, belongs to the women: They buy and sell as they think fit. The husbands wholly employ themselves with hunting and war, and trouble themselves with nothing else. The children who are born of the slaves are legitimate, as well as those born of the wives; but the wives children, and especially those born of the first wife, are the most respected by the father, who first advances them. And this advantage not injuring the rest, occasions no disorder in the family, who generally live in a perfect union and amity.

XVIII. Another law condemned all adulterers to die, and it was permitted a man to kill them when sur-

* *Le donne sono alli mariti di poca speza, anzi di gran guadagno & utili per li traffici, et esercizi. Muscopolo.*

prised in the act. The inhabitants of Caidu murmured against this law, because they had a custom amongst them, to testify their respect and love to their friends, by offering their wives to them when they came to see them, and regale them with their company. They presented several petitions to the Emperor, desiring they might not be deprived of this privilege and means to treat their guests. This Prince, yielding to their importunities, left them to their shame, and granted what they desired. But to the end the modesty of his other subjects might not be offended, by his permitting so vile a custom, which he thought contrary to reason and honour, he at the same time declared that he looked on these people as infamous.

XIX. To preserve amity amongst his subjects, he regulated alliances, and extended the ties of relation by marriage very far. He permitted two families to unite, tho' they had no children living: it sufficed that the one had had a son, and the other a daughter, tho' both dead; they might write a contract of marriage, and perform the ceremony in their names; and they were reputed married, tho' dead, and the families really allied to one another by this marriage.

This custom is still in use amongst the Tartars at this day, but superstition has added more circumstances to it: they throw the contract of marriage into the fire, after having drawn some figures on it to represent the persons pretended to be so married, and some forms of beasts; and are persuaded that all this is carried by the smoke to their children, who thereupon marry in the other world.

XX. Thunder, in ancient Mogolistan and the adjacent countries, was so dreaded by the Moguls, because it did often much mischief, that so soon as ever they heard it begin they all threw themselves desperately into the rivers and lakes, and were often drowned: Temugin finding this extraordinary fear caused him to lose many of his best soldiers, even when he had most need of them, strictly forbade, under a severe penalty, any persons to bathe or wash themselves upon any pretence whatever; nay, they were not permitted to wash their clothes in running waters during the time it thundered; the people being thereby made to

believe that the exhalations they caused to break forth in disturbing the waters, occasioned the thunder, which would not do them half so much harm, if they withdrew far from any water. They immediately submitted to this law, which the Tartars, who are not Mahometans, do still observe. But for those that are Mahometans, they look upon it as a superstitious custom, which contradicts one of the principal points of their religion, which gives its professors full liberty to wash in any place where they find water; nay, they are even persuaded that without such washing there are no hopes of salvation for them.

XXI. Spies, false witnesses, sodomites, and forcerers, were condemned to be put to death.

XXII. He published most severe ordinances against governors who failed of doing their duty, but principally those who commanded in far distant countries. In whatever place they were, death was their punishment if their conduct was blameable; but if their fault was but slight, they must come in person to the Grand Can, and justify themselves. And this Prince was in this case a very severe judge.

Many other laws were published which are not specified in the authors I have translated. I am not ignorant that in the Levant there is found a collection of laws entitled *Yasa Genghizcani*; * but no person has as yet brought a particular account or copy of them into France, and therefore we cannot fully satisfy the reader's curiosity.

The laws we have recited, and which were doubtless the principal ones, remained in full vigour during Temugin's reign and his successors. Tamerlain himself, who was born a hundred and eleven years after this Prince, caused them to be observed throughout all his Empire; and the Crim Tartars, as well as others, to this day religiously observe them. It must be confessed they could not be broken without incurring very great penalties; which alone was enough to make them continue long in force, and without question preserved them so long.

* That is to say the laws of *Genghizcan*.

One author assures us that the Grand Can invented them all himself, without consulting any books, or the example of former Kings, and that they all were made by his own wisdom : but other authors pretend that they were only copied from those which the orientals heretofore attributed to the invention of Turk, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah.

Temugin confirmed to his friends the commands he had given them ; he even made their employments more advantageous than before. And having more designs in his thoughts than he communicated to his Mogul subjects, beside the methods he had already made use of to gain their hearts, he had recourse to revelations, telling them that God had assured him that he should become master of the world, but that it was his pleasure that he should change his name, and that they should call him Genghizcan. * He added, that they ought not to doubt of the accomplishment of this divine promise, because they had seen that which had been made him in the same manner some years before so happily fulfilled, in his so gloriously delivering them from Oughcan's tyranny.

Other authors relate this revelation to have been pretended to be revealed by another person, and tell the story thus ; they say there was a man, † one of the first rank amongst the Moguls, who after having wandered stark naked in the deserts for some time, entered into the assembly, and declared aloud, that he came commissioned by God to find out the Son of Pisouca, to advertise him to take the name of Genghizcan, that is to say, the Can of Cans, and to assure him that he should be Emperor of the whole earth. This deceiver made a florid discourse upon the glory and honour this Prince should acquire under this new name. And to make himself be heard with greater attention, he had the boldness to aver that he only related God's own words. The prophets, says a Turkish poet, who foretold nothing but what was possible, were always applauded. In fine, Temugin, whom we shall hencefor-

* *Genghizcan* in the Tartar language signifies Can the Son of Can.

† This man was called *Bet Tangri*. He was a Priest and Magician. He said he was a great penitent, and made them believe that he had been taken up into heaven, where he received his mission. *Condemir*.

ward call Genghizcan, appeared to be in a condition able to make good the prophecy by force of arms; and the people readily gave credit to it. Another author assures us, with much appearance of truth, that this Prince secretly hired this impostor to act this cheat.

To conclude, a Diet was called towards the end of the year 1205. Genghizcan, according to his wonted customs, gave presents to every body, and nothing but prayers and ardent wishes for his prosperity were to be heard. His friends the Mogul Lords, who were privy to the secret of this pretended revelation, supported him strongly in all things; so that the report was soon spread over all Mogolistan and Tartary, and was so strongly credited, that they looked upon all the rest of the world as if it belonged of right to the Grand Can their Emperor.



R

C H A P. VII.

THE DEATH OF PRINCE BOYRUC. GENGHIZCAN'S EXPEDITION AGAINST TOUCTA-BEY, AND THE SUCCESS OF IT. CASCHLUC'S FLIGHT TO GURCAN THE KING OF TURQUESTAN, WHO GIVES HIM HIS DAUGHTER IN MARRIAGE. A DESCRIPTION OF THE YUGURES, AND THEIR RELIGION.

THIS prophecy was very useful to Genghizcan, for the Moguls breathed nothing but war; nay they even thought it a crime in those Princes who resisted, whom they endeavoured to deprive of their Kingdoms. Boyruc, brother to the deceased Can of the Naimans, to whom Caschluc his nephew and Tucta-Bey were fled, was the first victim to this prediction.

This Prince, being informed of the Moguls resolution, had made all the preparation possible to receive them: but it signified little, tho' Tucta-Bey assisted him with his troops of Merkites; for after a very slight resistance Boyruc fled, but was taken in the chase by a party of Moguls, and brought a prisoner into their camp, where he was put to death. And this so much daunted his people, that his army dispersed. Caschluc and Tucta-Bey, after having given orders to their soldiers whither to repair, betook themselves to flight, and retired to the Frontiers of their territories at Ardisch, where they designed to get together some troops which had not been able to join the army before the fight.

In the mean time Genghizcan, not being far from the country of Tangut, marched in the year 1206 with a strong detachment into that country to revenge himself upon Schidascou who was the Can of it, and who had secretly lent succours to his enemies; and there he cunningly surprized Campion the capital city of Tangut: which so astonished Schidascou, that he immediately submitted, and made use of the great Lords of that country to intercede for his pardon with the Emperor, to whom they went loaded with presents. The Conqueror pardoned the Can, and restored him to his Kingdom with the same power as before, on condition that he should every year pay him a certain tribute, and permit a garrison of Moguls to remain in the fortrefs of Campion. And thus the Grand Can, being satisfied with the mi-

menſe riches he had found in that city, returned back to his army.

It is in the city of Campion that the caravans of Merchants ſtop, which come from the weſt, and often from the ſouth, to trade with China, becauſe they are forbidden to go further: and here they ſometimes ſojourn a long time, which gives an opportunity to the inhabitants to enrich themſelves greatly. Here are a great many learned men who ſtudy the ſciences, which they call Schimia, Limia, and Simia. The firſt treats of phyſick, philoſophy, chymiſtry, and the philoſophers ſtone; the ſecond of aſtronomy, and natural magick; and the third of theology, and cabaliſtry, which contains the knowledge of good and bad angels, and teaches the operations which belong to theſe ſciences.

Genghizcan almoſt at the ſame time conquered the countries of Crequir and Cachin, which laſt name formerly the country of Tangut bore. In 1207, he learned that Caſchluc and Tuſta-Bey had got together all their forces in the country of Ardich in the tribe of Merkit. He gave them the leaſt time he could poſſible to fortify themſelves, and marched againſt them in the midſt of the winter. Theſe Princes amazed at his ſudden arrival, and finding their army not ſtrong enough to ſtand againſt him, retired farther off, and went and encamped even under the fortrefs of Ardich.

But their enemy, notwithſtanding the badneſs of the ways and rigour of the ſeaſon, ſoon appeared before the place, and forced them, maugre all the precautions they had taken, to come to an engagement with him. The battle did not laſt long; for the Moguls, as if aſſured of the victory, fell with ſuch fury on their enemies, who were inferior to them both in courage and number, that they ſoon put them to flight. Touſta-Bey was killed in the action. As for Caſchluc, he was ſo cunning as to get out of the crowd, and with ſome expert ſoldiers eſcape to Turkeſtan, where he had the good fortune to be ſheltered by Gurcan, one of the moſt powerful Princes of Touran, * that is to ſay, of the Tartars country which

* Some call this country *Touran*, becauſe it was heretofore the portion of *Tour* the ſon of *Feridoun*, King of *Perſia*, of the firſt dynasty named *Piſchadiens*. Thus by the word *Iran* we muſt underſtand all *Perſia*, and all the countries ſituate beyond the river *Gihon*, otherwiſe called *Oxus*. *Fadlallah*.

is beyond the river Gibon, reaching to the borders of Caracatay. King Gurcan touched with his misfortunes, received him kindly, and conceived so tender a friendship for this young Prince, that he gave him his daughter in marriage to comfort him in all his troubles.

All these conquests and happy success raised Genghizcan to so high a pitch of greatness, that many sovereign Princes sent to ask his protection, and among the rest Arslancan Prince of the Carluques in Caracatay: but there happened to Genghizcan something yet more advantageous, which completed his good fortune; and that was the discontent of a Prince of Turquestan named Idicout.*

He was Can of the Yugures; and tho' a very powerful Prince, yet was tributary to Gurcan King of Turquestan, who generally kept among the Yugures a kind of intendent of that province, to be watchful for his interest, and to gather the tributes which that people were obliged to pay him. He who at this juncture held this employment there, was called Schouakem. This man, being naturally covetous and hasty, besides the money and wares which he levied as due to his master, extorted more for himself; insomuch that the Yugures finding themselves oppressed, complained of his abuses to their Prince: he forthwith spoke to Schouakem, but he could get no reparation or reasonable answer from him; nay he even answered to the remonstrances he made to him with threats. The Prince was so enraged at his insolence, that to be revenged he caused him to be assassinated, and forthwith sent two of his chief officers to Genghizcan to inform him of what had past, and to ask his protection, because after this action which he had been obliged to perform, he feared the resentments of Gurcan. These messengers overtook the Mogul Emperor in the country of Tangut, where he was then gone to reduce to his obedience Schidascou, who with some other Cans had revolted from him, amongst whom was the Can of Crequir, whose country he entirely ruined.

* *Idicout* in the *Mogul* language signifies the Prince then reigning. *Abul-cuir*, *Abulfarage*.

The Mogul Emperor, glad of an opportunity to make King Gurcan uneasy, who was never a friend to him, and had now made an alliance with Caschluc his enemy, received these envoys from Idicout much better than he would otherwise have done. He hearkened to them, and made them such an answer as they wished; and when they returned back, he named two fit persons to accompany them, whom he charged to assure the Can of his friendship and protection against Gurcan.

This civil and generous procedure charmed the Can of the Yugures, who straight took all that he had most precious and valuable in his treasures, and went to Genghizcan in person to offer him his service; which he did with all the zeal imaginable, and all the respect his quality would admit. This condescension rendered this Prince so agreeable to the Grand Can, that he received him with all the testimonies of affection that he could desire. The assurances Idicout gave him of his zeal were not contradicted by his actions; for he afterwards served the Mogul Emperor effectually, who, as an acknowledgment of the services he did him, gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and ever after looked on him as one of his children. King Gurcan, who upon the news of Schouakem's being assassinated was transported with rage, and threatened Idicout with fire and sword, could not execute his threats before he heard that this Prince was become Genghizcan's son-in-law; and the fear of drawing the Moguls army upon himself stifled his rage.

The religion of the Yugures has not been perfectly known to Historians: some have writ that they were idolaters; others that they were Christians, but Nestorians; and others that they were Mahometans; because several amongst them made profession of all these religions. Their priests, whom they called Lama, had their heads and beards quite shaved; their superiors obliged them to observe chastity, and to serve in the temples; they had to cover their heads a kind of mitre, and for their habit a yellow or red tunick; close-bodied as a Cassock, and girt about the waste: over this tunick they wore a cloak cut after the manner of a Christian Deacon's cope. When

the Lama's are in their temples, they are seated on benches over against one another, holding their books in their hands: they are always bare-headed, and instead of singing they read to themselves softly, and generally keep silence. Those who report them to be idolaters, have never declared in what particulars they were so. The idols they had are no sufficient proof of it, since in the conversation Rubruquis had with them they assured him that they adored but one God; and that tho' they had images, it was only to put them in mind of those they represented, and not to adore them. Which might make one conclude, that they then made profession of Genghizcan's religion, with a small mixture of the superstition which they had in common with the Moguls.

The Moguls were indebted to the Yugures for the art of writing they now use, which was wanting before their union with this people. Whether they found the manner of the Yugures writing more convenient than their own, we know not; but they took to it, and have used it ever since.*

The Yugures in antient times had that name conferred upon them, even by the mouth of Oguz himself: he called them Yugures, that is to say, united. He has always passed amongst them for a great prophet; and the Turks of the last ages, that is to say, the Ottomans, who by the title of Ogusians which they bear value themselves as being his descendants, say that when he was but a year old he spoke, and gave himself the name of Oguz; but at eighteen God illuminated his understanding; and whereas all mankind were at that time idolaters, he brought them out of their errors, and made them worship only the one true God; which so much displeased his relations, that they resolve to ruin him: but with the assistance of some other persons whom he had converted, he resisted them so vigorously, that his father, was killed by an arrow in the fight, and his uncles put to flight. This is what Fadlallah reports of Oguz.†

* The letter which *Mangucaan* the son of *Genghizcan*, Emperor of the *Moguls*, writ to *St. Lewis King of France* in 1254, was in the *Mogul* language, but in the *Yugurian* characters, and the lines were writ from the top to the bottom, and multiplied from the left to the right. *Rubruquis*.

† The son of *Caracan*; *Caracan* the son of *Mogolcan*; *Mogolcan* the son of *Alinge Can*, the fourth King of the *Oriental Turks*, of the posterity of *Turk* the son of *Japhet*, the son of *Noah*. From this *Mogolcan* the *Moguls* are descended; as are the *Tartars* from *Tatercan* the son of *Alinge*.

C H A P. VIII.

GENGHIZCAN'S FIRST WAR AGAINST THE NORTHERN PARTS OF CHINA, CALLED CATHAY; AND THE SUCCESS OF IT. HIS RETURN INTO HIS OWN COUNTRY: HIS EXPEDITION TO THE DESERT OF CAPSCHAC, OTHERWISE CALLED DECHT.

ALTHO' Genghizcan, when he was on his return to Caracorom, had resolved not to renew the war for some time, yet he neglected not to raise recruits, and strengthen his army, to let his enemies see that he was always in a condition to be feared; and that whilst he was in peace he applied himself, according to the resolutions taken in the last Diet, to regulate the affairs of his Kingdoms, and secure the best he was able those countries he had conquered. All things looked now as if he designed to live in repose, and taste the sweets of that peaceful estate which by such vast fatigues he had obtained: but the love of arms, the darling passion of his soul, permitted him not to rest; and he thought of nothing else but how to find a pretext to fall out with the Chinese, against whom in particular he had formed some designs.

The present state of affairs, all being now in peace, affording him no means to quarrel, he sought amongst the transactions of past ages for something fit to urge against them; * and calling to mind the injuries the Kings of China had heretofore done to his ancestors, nay to his own father and people, † he conferred with his Nevians and other Princes of his court, continually entertaining them with discourses of the injuries and wrongs their fathers had suffered by the Chinese. ‡ This was the cause said he, that our country was looked upon with so much scorn, and despised by all the nations of Asia. In fine, he excited them to revenge, by urging, that they had no other way to vindicate their honour, and make themselves famous to posterity. Neither did he forget to

* He called to mind his fathers wrongs, and fighting, recited the injustice of the King of China. *Abulcair.*

† He recounted to his courtiers the injuries the King of China had done their ancestors. *Mirconde.*

‡ He said, that since the great God had given him the victory over all his enemies, he had reason to expect that he would do the same for him over the Chinese.

remind them of the promise God had made to him, to assist and render him victorious over all his enemies.

The Mogul Princes and Lords failed not to applaud their Emperor's design; whether it was out of complaisance, or that they found it agreeable to reason and justice, is not the question. A council was called to consult on ways and means how to bring this great enterprize to pass; and it was resolved that first of all an Ambassador should be sent to Altoun-can King of China, to demand satisfaction for all the damages and injuries done to the Moguls by his predecessors, with orders that in case he refused to comply, war should be declared against him. For this purpose they chose Jafer, an old courtier, a man perfectly skilled in state affairs, and sent him away in the winter-season. Jafer being arrived at Canba-lee, which was the old city of Pequín, one of the capital cities of Cathay, * and the antient Iffedon of the Seres, had audience of the King, whom he accidentally found in this city, for he was not used to reside there but only in the summer. This Ambassador made a long harangue, which he began with expatiating on his master's greatness, his elevation to the empire of the Moguls and Tartars, and the choice God had made of him to govern the world: he afterwards demanded reparation of the King for all the damages and injuries which his predecessors had done the Moguls; telling him that if he refused to comply with these demands, he had orders to declare war against him, and to assure him that Genghizcan, at the head of a most powerful army, would come and drive him out of his Kingdom, and establish one of his own children on his throne.

Jafer's discourse appeared very surprizing to the King of China, who was much astonished that the Mogul Emperor should form such a design, and ven-

* The country of *Cathay* which is here spoke of, is *China* itself, and not *Grand Tartary*, as it was long thought to be by our *Europeans*. The western geographers have made it known by the limits they have given it in their maps, and their historians have declared it in express words. Besides, it is now plainly discovered that the name of *Cathay* particularly belonged to the seven northern provinces of this great Kingdom; and that the southern parts, which contained the nine other provinces, were called *Mangi*. But these southern parts were not conquered by *Genghizcan*, but by the *Mogul* his successors, *Ann. Dom. 1268. Heg. 667.*

ture to attack and begin a war against a nation whom he had reason to fear, considering the great damages and losses he himself confessed his nation had sustained by them. The King complained to the Ambassador, saying, your master treats me as if he thought me a Turk or a Mogul; and with this answer he sent him back: go tell Genghizcan that altho' I cannot hinder him from making war with me, yet I will meet him with an army that shall make him repent his rashness. Jafer returned with all diligence to Caracorom, and gave his master an account of his negotiation; and the observations he had made, pursuant to the orders he had given him.

Genghizcan having received this answer from the King of China, continued to make preparations for the war. So soon as the season permitted him to take the field, he divided his army into two bodies; the most considerable he took along with him, and the other he gave the command of to three of his sons, Jougy, Zagatay, and Ostay. These three Princes marched towards Courge, * or Corea; they did no injury to the Calmacks thro' whose country they past, because this nation, which was situate on the confines of Caracatay, had already submitted to Genghizcan; but when they were come to the borders of Courge, where there were but a few troops left, the rest being all gone to join the King of China, they made terrible devastations both in the towns and villages wherever they came, as also in the open country carrying away all the horses and cattle they found.

The Emperor of the Moguls did no less mischief on his side with his army: for after having strengthened it with some troops which waited to join him near the Til, a river of Caracatay, he entered China

* A Kingdom situate on the confines of China on the north, having the sea on the east. This country contained about seven hundred thousand souls, and had been almost always governed by a King of their own nation, who sometimes were likewise monarchs even of China itself; but the King of China in his last was also revenged, having made himself master of Courge, Fadlallah.

† The Calmacks are a nation to the eastward, not to be confounded with that of the Calmucks, who live to the west of Asia towards the Volga.

at the great gate in the wall, * which Alacous, of whom we have before made mention, caused to be opened. This Alacous was Can of the Kingdom of Ancout, to whose care heretofore the Emperors of China had committed this gate and wall. This Prince was at this time displeased with Altouncan, and held secret intelligence with Genghizcan, whom he was very useful to on this occasion. He did not only open a way for the Moguls into China, but gave them some of his own officers to be their guides.

All the cities which made no resistance, but opened their gates, and furnished provisions to Genghizcan, were by that generous Prince spared; but those that opposed him were all plundered, as likewise several considerable castles, out of which he took all the riches that were there deposited for security: and all this he did whilst he waited for the coming up of the army which the young Princes commanded.

On the other side, the King of China joined to his army the troops of Cource, and putting himself at the head of these united forces, marched directly towards the Moguls; but when he was come within a few days journey of them, his soldiers being much fatigued, staid to rest, and for their security he caused all the carts to be placed round the army; then they made a large deep ditch before them. His troops staid not so long in this camp as they could have wished; for being soon informed that Genghizcan was coming to attack them, they decamped to go and meet him.

So soon as the two armies were in sight of one another, they ranged themselves in order of battle, and fell to blows. The combat was bloody. The King of China lost thirty thousand men, and the Mogul Emperor had a great many officers killed, and more soldiers than the enemy. The latter retired with all the spoils he had gotten by the way of the province of Pequín, in which he had some intelligence. The Chinese did not venture to follow him, because they were no less fatigued than the Moguls,

* The Chinese built this wall in past ages, betwixt the mountains, to hinder the Turks and Moguls from making inroads into this great Kingdom. This wall was called *Avencout* in the Mogul tongue, and *Sedd Yagoudge* or *Madgoudge* in the Arabian, which signifies *Gog and Magog's Band*.

and had great need of repose. For this reason, reflecting only on the great loss of soldiers they had just felt, and fearing lest Genghizcan should besiege their capital city, they resolved to make peace with him, in order to get him out of China, which the war had already reduced to a miserable condition.

Altownean therefore sent an Ambassador to Genghizean to propose a peace, with his daughter Cubcou Catune in marriage, promising to send this Princess to him under the conduct of one of the greatest Lords in his Court, and with all the splendor and attendance suiting an Emperor's daughter and wife. The Mogul Emperor, pleased with the condescending offers of an enemy whom he found he could not vanquish, accepted the proposals he made him, and married the Princess of China so soon as she arrived in his camp; and, accompanied with the Princes his sons, retired with her to Caracorum.

But he remained not inactive any longer than was absolutely necessary to recruit his army, for two reasons: first, because he would not suffer the soldiers to be idle; and next, because he had formed a great design in his own mind. He meditated how to conquer all the western countries of Tartary for his eldest son, and flattered himself that he should succeed in this undertaking, because of the animosities that were amongst the Tartar Cans. He first disposed a part of his troops in the countries he had subdued, to keep them quiet, and prevent their revolting; and then with the rest of his army he set out on the way to the vast country, called the plains of Capschac. His eldest son, as being the person the most interested, failed not to accompany him in this expedition.

The country of Capschac is of a vast extent, and is accounted the most considerable part of Tartary, It reaches from east to west from Turkestan even to the river Volga, and all along the borders of the ancient Bulgaria, and the ancient Russia, and from the Volga to the country of Crim, where the people dwell who are called the Little or Crim Tartars. Its greatest length from north to south is from the Caspian sea to the great sandy Deserts, or rather to the frozen or north sea.

* This country has but few towns: Its soil, if we except the great Deserts on the north side, is excellent; abounding in all sorts of grain, pasturage and cattle. A better air cannot be found, nor better water. The women are handsomer there than in any other part of Tartary. The men are courageous, and lovers of war. They are divided into tribes, many of which are at present composed of Moguls and Turks. The towns being few, and the open countries very large, every tribe transport themselves frequently from one place to another, seeking every winter in the southern parts for subsistence for themselves and beasts, and in summer visiting the northern parts of their country.

Altho' every tribe has its particular Prince or *Gan*, which governs it; yet this part of Tartary, ever since the Moguls subdued it, has always had a King, or Grand Can, to whom the others did homage. This country in past ages was overstocked with people, and from thence came the Huns, the Getes or Goths, the Gepides, the Vandals, the Alains, the Swedes, and other nations who have rendered themselves but too famous in the world by the disorders they committed.

Seray is the capital city of Capschac, situate on the banks of the river Sencla, which discharges itself into the Volga. Batucan laid the foundation of this city, and Berekecan his brother finished it. The three finest rivers in the country of Capschac, are the Volga, the Jayc, and the Irush.

But let us return to Genghizcan. By the victory he had formerly gained over Ounghcan, he thought he had a right over several tribes of Capschac, who lived in subjection to this vanquished King; and for this reason he marched his troops to that side of the country. No sooner did he appear on their frontiers, but these tribes submitted to him; as did others who inhabited the country of Getes, situate in Capschac, on the borders of Mogolistan: which all toge-

* This country is also called *Decht Capschac*, and *Decht Bereke*. *Decht* signifies large level barren countries, and *Bereke* is the name of a grandson of Genghizcan, who succeeded his brother Batucan in the Kingdom of Capschac, to which he gave his name, and was the first of the Mogul Cans of Capschac, who made profession of the Mahometan faith.

ther in a short time composed a vast army. These nations, and some others, of whom Historians have made no mention, having joined him, Genghizcan gave the command of one half of them to Prince Jougi-Can, called also Touchy, his eldest son, leaving him in this country with many Mogul officers to govern them, and returned to Mogolistan with the other half, which made an army great enough for any undertaking.

Jougi-Can, after the departure of the Emperor his father, made some new conquests, which gave much cause of Jealousy to several nations of the western Tartars. These people combined against him; * but he defeated them in several skirmishes, and particularly the Comans, the antient Bulgarians, Valacks, and Hungarians, who heretofore inhabited the country of the Huns, Vandals, and other nations, which for a long time have not been distinguished but by the common name of Tartars.

* He rendered himself master of the countries of *Dochi Casshaac*, *Sagins*, *Bulgaria*, *Russia*, *Masfen*, *Tanher*, and other Kingdoms and provinces. *Sia-Abdallatif*.



GENGHIZCAN'S SECOND WAR WITH CHINA, AND THE
TAKING OF PEQUIN THE CAPITAL CITY OF THE NORTH-
ERN CHINA, OR CATHAY.

GENGHIZCAN, as we have before observed, had given his protection to the Princes Arslan and Idicout; the first was Can of the Carlucks, the last Can of the Yugures. After having concluded with him what number of soldiers they should raise for his service, these Princes retired into their own countries, with several Mogul officers who were ordered to convoy them home.

These two Princes omitted nothing to procure good troops, and each of them raised a toman, * with which they returned to Genghizcan's Court, after he was come back from Capschac. Their arrival much rejoiced the Emperor, because they had brought him very fine troops, which he wanted to strengthen the army he was resolved to send to China, on advice given him of some threats uttered by Altouncaan against the Moguls: besides, he had now a favourable opportunity; for the King of China being displeased with the people of some provinces of Caracatay, had given order to ravage their countries; and these people being resolved to oppose him, had sent deputies to Caracorum to beg the Emperor's protection. There arrived at the same time an envoy from a particular Can of their nation to inform him that by means of some rebels he had got possession of a considerable fortress which opened to him an entrance into China. † This Can, after having put a good garrison into this place, came himself to Genghizcan, to engage him to go against Altouncaan.

The Mogul could not withstand his importunities. He received him favourably, treated and consulted with him about proper measures to render this war successful. Then he sent back this Prince loaded with rich presents, and promised either to follow him

* That is to say, ten thousand men.

† The King of China having ill-treated the people of Caracatay, Genghizcan revenged them, and carried the war even to *Pequin*, which was called *Can-Balec*, that is to say, the Royal City. *Abulcair*.

himself, or to send his chief General immediately after him, at the head of a numerous army, of which the troops of the Carlucks and Yugures should make a part. Accordingly the army was soon in a condition to march; but Genghizcan could not command it in person, by reason of an indisposition that seized him. Samouca Behadeur, the eldest of his Generals, commanded in chief; and all the Cans, Princes, Nevians, and Emirs who could get leave of the Emperor to go, went on this expedition, each striving to manifest how zealous he was for the service of his Prince.

These troops were no sooner arrived at the place appointed, but the fortress that had been surprized was put into the hands of a Mogul Officer; and so soon as they had rested, and were in a condition to enter upon action, they seized, almost without any opposition, upon the provinces of Caracatay that were the last of those belonging to Altouncan. Then they quickly entered with ease into China by means of the intelligence the rebel Can held in that country.

At the same time, Moucli Gouyanc, one of the most able Mogul Generals, marched to the country of Courge with a body of troops, to hinder the forces in that kingdom from going to aid the King of China; and this officer seized several places according to the orders given him. Yet this hindered not Altouncan from advancing his army against that commanded by Samouca Behadeur. This King, as well as all his soldiers, were transported that they were to fight an army not commanded by Genghizcan, flattering themselves that they should gain an easy victory. They briskly attacked Samouca, and made his advanced guard give way; but the Moguls, resolving to conquer or die, fought with so much valour and resolution, that the Chinese were in the end obliged to betake themselves to flight, and to shut themselves up in their cities that they might be screened from the fury of their enemies.

Altho' the King of China had put abundance of troops into Pequín, the Moguls, instigated by the Chinese rebels that accompanied them, resolved to lay siege to this city: they even tried to take it by assault; but the Prince of China, to whom the King his father

had entrusted the management of the first war, * defended it so vigorously, that all the besiegers efforts proved in vain. † It is impossible to tell how many brave actions were performed on both sides during this siege; by reason that the fate of China seeming to depend on the good or ill fortune of this its capital city, the bravest Chinese and greatest Lords of the Empire were entered into it, to share the honour of a long and brave defence.

The great number of troops that were in this city took away from the besiegers all hopes of taking it by open force, therefore they resolved to starve it out; and the famine became so great in Pequín, that the men chose rather to eat one another than to yield. ‡ Notwithstanding the Chinese's bravery availed them nothing, for the city was taken by a stratagem; which being reported to the King of China, he conceived such displeasure that he poisoned himself.

Mirconde and Abulcair report the taking of Pequín thus, in general terms; but Carpin gives a more ample relation of it: he says, ' That the besiegers suffered so horrible a famine, that they were obliged to decimate the men, and out of every ten kill one to feed the other nine; that the besieged defended themselves so valiantly with their arrows and engines, that when the stones came to fail the engineers, § they melted down their gold and silver, which was in great abundance in that place, and used it to shoot against their enemies; but at last, the Moguls having received a supply of provisions, and finding they were no nearer taking the city than they were the first day, undermined it, and made a way under ground which reached to the middle of the city, and in the night assailed the Chinese, who, surprized with a stratagem so new and strange, lost all courage, and were obliged to surrender the city to the Moguls. He adds, that the King of China, be-

* They besieged Pequín. *Abulcair.*

† The King of China gave the command of Pequín to his own son, and caused an infinite number of troops and officers to enter with him into that city.

‡ Altouncan flying with his people, wept, and conceived so great displeasure that he poisoned himself. *Abulcair.*

§ *Et cum diu pugnassent, & cum bello vincere minime possent, anam magnam animi sub terra ab exercitu usque ad mediam civitatem, &c.* Carpin.

' lieving this place impregnable, had shut himself in it, and was killed with his son; that the Moguls and Tartars who were entered into the city opened the gates to those without, and gave no quarter to any they met with; and, that they plundered it of all that was precious or valuable, and afterwards divided the booty according to Genghizcan's law.'

* Let this be true or false, 'tis certain that after the taking of Pequin, a courier was dispatched to carry the news to the Mogul Emperor, who immediately nominated officers to manage the finances and revenues properly belonging to Altounkan in this northern part of China, which he annexed to his own revenue. The taking of Pequin which happened † Ann. Dom. 1213. Heg. 610, rendered Genghizcan master of the greatest part of the northern China, or Cathay: He gave the Government of this city to General Moucly Gouyanc, with orders to finish the conquest of China, which this officer accomplished in two years: he even also conquered the Kingdom of Courge or Corea.

* *Pequin taken Ann. 1210, and according to the orientals 1213.*

† *Ann. Dom 1213. Heg 610, eight months before that famous victory with Philip Augustus, King of France, gained over the Emperor at Bouvines in Flanders, who brought near two hundred thousand men into the field; and over the King of England and the Count of Flanders. Father Martin, a Jesuit.*



GENGHIZCAN'S WAR AGAINST THE REST OF HIS ENEMIES IN CARACATAY, MOGOLISTAN, AND TURQUESTAN. THE PERFDY OF PRINCE CASCHLUC TO HIS FATHER-IN-LAW GURCAN. THE MOGULS WAR AGAINST CASCHLUC. THE DEATH OF THAT PRINCE. GENGHIZCAN'S ALLIANCE WITH THE KING OF CARIZME.

IT should seem that the conquest of this half of China, would oblige the Mogul Emperor to fix the seat of his empire at Pequin, in order to keep with less trouble the possession of China, by his presence there, and to facilitate the conquest of the other half, if an opportunity presented ; but he had designs in view more considerable than that of rendering himself master of so great an empire. He therefore was contented with sending Governors thither, and continued to keep his Court at Caracorom, both to have an eye upon Tartary, and to watch the motions of the Cans, the successors of Tousta-Bey, who still had forces in Merkit, which was a part of Mogolistan ; and on Caschluc the son of Tayancan, who he well knew did hate him. He was sensible these two Princes were able to give him trouble, particularly Caschluc, if he could prevail with Gurcan to declare war against him.

Altho' all these fortunate successes had rendered Genghizcan's power very formidable, yet there ceased not to reign in some of the Moguls minds an inclination to revolt ; and Tousta-Bey's hatred to the Emperor seemed to survive in his whole family and nation, tho' he was dead. His three sons, and brother Coudoucan, preserved that aversion to Genghizcan even to death ; nay, they were so audacious as to raise troops, and excite some other tribes, amongst whom were those of Tomat on the frontiers of China, to revolt : In fine, they kindled in several places so great a flame, that Genghizcan was obliged to send troops to quench it.

Suida Behadeur marched against the rebel Cans of Merkit ; and after having plundered the greatest part of the province where they were encamped, he forced them to a battle, in which he defeated them ; and by the death of these Cans, which happened within the same year 1214, procured to the tribe of Merkit that calm and repose which the rest of the Mogul nations

enjoyed. As for the people of the tribe of Tomat, Baha Nevian who was sent against them, treated them in so cruel a manner, that the Emperor himself was moved with pity when he received the account of it, and ordered that care should be taken to breed up and well educate the children of those whose parents had had the ill fortune to perish in the terrible slaughter this General had made, and to marry their wives and daughters.

Prince Caschluc was much more to be feared than the Cans of Merkit and Tomat, had he but known how to manage the King of Turquestan his father-in-law, who was so powerful a Prince, that he often assumed the title of Padichah. Turquestan was then one of the largest parts of Tartary; it had on the south Tibet and India, were the new Moguls are, on the north Caracatay, on the east China and some parts of Caracatay, on the west Transoxiana and Caspachac: and during some time all Tartary was called the country of the Turks.

Those who knew Caschluc, did not approve the choice Gurcan had made of him for his daughter. He was unworthy to be a Prince. * He was neither good-natured nor grateful, and had neither honour nor generosity. And notwithstanding the obligations he had to his father-in-law, the many favours he had received of him, and the love he ought to have borne him; yet he ceased not to daily to do him ill offices, and excite commotions amongst his subjects, nay, to forward the revolt of the Governors of his provinces, and even enter into a league himself with Mehomed King of Carizme, Gurcan's greatest enemy.

In fine, Caschluc retired from his father-in-law's Court, and with some male-contented seditious persons whom he had seduced, formed a considerable body of men, which in a short time was much augmented by the scattered remains of the army of the King of the Naimans his father: and whilst Mehomed, as they had agreed, invaded Gurcan's Kingdom on the west, he went to the east, and ravaged and plundered his father-in-law's provinces; who detesting his ingratitude, resolved to be revenged on him. This King, tho' he was far advanced in years, put himself at the head of

* Caschluc was an idolater. *Abukair.*

a considerable army, and had still vigour and courage enough to conquer his son-in-law in the country of Couakege.

* We must not omit to mention one particularity which Bin-Aias relates of this country: he says that in the country of Couakege, in Turquestan there is a sort of wood which they make use of to build houses, and is of such a nature that fire cannot burn it; and a sort of stone so bright, or luminous, that the inhabitants are lighted by it in the night.

In the mean time the King of Carizme made conquests in Turquestan on the borders of Transoxiana. He seized on almost all the countries that belonged to Gurcan. This Prince marched against him, but had not the same success that he had had against Caschluc, for he narrowly escaped being made a prisoner. The weakness attending his age gave opportunity to several great Lords of his kingdom to form seditious plots against him. His kingdoms fell all into great disorders, of which he could not possibly expect to live to see an end. His son-in-law returned to give him a second battle, in which Caschluc had the better. He took Gurcan, and in appearance treated him with respect; but he rendered himself master of all his kingdom and treasure, and repaid with such base ingratitude all the obligations and favours he had received from him, that Gurcan within two years after died with grief.

Caschluc presently after this battle besieged the city of Caschgar, where the King used to reside; which city refused to acknowledge any other sovereign but Gurcan's son as the rightful heir of the kingdom. The inhabitants defended it vigorously against Caschluc, and the siege lasted long; but the city was at last taken, and he made the inhabitants feel the utmost rigour of his tyranny.

† The city of Caschgar was situate in the forty fourth degree of latitude, and in ninety five degrees and twenty minutes of longitude. It was then the capital of the country which Gurcan possessed in Turquestan. It had produced several men famous for

* Bin-Aias in his book entitled *Naschat Alazhar*.

† Caschgar, the capital of Turquestan, &c. *Abulfeda*.

learning. It was sometime called Ourdoukent, that is to say, the royal city. And when Marcopolo was in that country, at Caschgar, this city, says he, was subject to the Grand Can Gurcan. * It was from this city that the Swedes took their original. †

The principal religion which the inhabitants professed was Mahometanism. The Nestorians had also churches. And the same Marcopolo acquaints us, that this was a city of great trade, because it was in the road which all the merchants passed through who went to China. At this time the country of Caschgar is governed by a King of their own in particular, and the name of their capital city is Hyarcan, which is in the same place as Caschgar was, to which one of its Princes would give his name. It is reckoned there are a hundred mosques in this city. The country produces all things necessary for life, as also the finest aromack plants; and in one of the mountains there is a mine of silver which brings a great revenue to the Prince.

Cotan, a city in Yurgura, situate on the confines of Turquestan towards the east, in forty-two degrees of latitude, had the same fate as Caschgar. And Caschluc in the end subdued the country and city of Almaleg, situate in the same degree as Caschgar, which belonged to a Turkish Prince, who was at that time absent. He surprized the Governor a hunting, and killed him: after which he got possession of so many other countries, that it seemed by his successes as if fortune had prepared for him a great and lasting felicity.

The Mogul Emperor, mighty as he was, was alarmed at this Prince's success, whom he hated as much as he was hated of him; but being very prudent, he would do nothing precipitately. He therefore sent a Lord of his Court to sultan Mehomed, King of Carizme, to endeavor to draw him from Caschluc's interest, whom he called the Naiman Prince. The envoy suc-

* The Caracathayans so called their King Gurcan, that is to say, the Can of Cons. Mirconde.

† M. Sparvenfeldt, who was master of the ceremonies to Ambassadors at the King of Sweden's Court, being at Paris in 1694, assured the author that he had read in the ancient annals of Sweden, that the Swedes took their original from the city of Caschgar in Turquestan.

ceeded in his negotiation without much trouble. Mehomed, who was also grown uneasy at Caschluc's good fortune, and had already some cause to be displeased with this Prince, promised to give him no assistance; hoping indeed that Genghizcan and Caschluc might ruin one another, or at least be both weakened, and that he in the end should be a gainer by the disorders which a war between them would occasion.

In the mean time Caschluc did a great deal of mischief in the countries into which he carried his arms, and ill-treated all those who were not idolaters. 'Tis said, that in the Kingdom of Cotan, which he became master of, he caused to be nailed to the door of a College, an Imam, or Mahometan Priest, named Aladin, who reprehended him for blasphemous expressions which he uttered against Mahometanism.

The report of the cruelties of this Prince was spread abroad every where; and Genghizcan being secured of the King of Carizme, made an advantageous use of the complaints that were reported of Caschluc. He gave a kind reception to all the envoys who came from the people on every side, to entreat him to deliver them from this tyrant. He readily promised to succour them; and for this effect he gave orders to Hubbe Nevian, one of his Generals, to go and make war with him as a persecutor of mankind.

* Hubbe departed in the spring of the year 1216, with that army which the Emperor had on the frontiers of Caracatay, and entered into Turquestan by the side of Caschgar. Caschluc had advice of his coming, and immediately put himself at the head of his troops, and marched against him, resolving to use all his efforts to beat the Moguls, this once at least; but he was so unfortunate as to lose the battle. After which, he retired to Caschgar; and finding that he could not prevail with the King of Carizme to act for him, he grew mad with despair. All the great expectations he had conceived vanished, and he concluded he had no other course to take but to fly. Many of his followers accompanied him in his flight, but they were vigorously pursued by the Moguls, who put to the sword all the Naimans they could overtake.

* Genghizcan sent Hubbe with several tensens of troops, or battalions of ten thousand men each. *Mirconde.*

Hubbe Nevian seized upon Caschgar, and caused to be published liberty of conscience, which the usurper had forbidden. Prince Caschluc at first escaped the enemies pursuit; but at last he was taken as he was a hunting amongst the mountains of Bedakhschan, where he passed for an inhabitant of that country. The Moguls knew him again, and cut off his head, and brought it to Prince Hubbe, who sent it to the Grand Can his master, who by this Prince's death was put into possession of all the countries he had usurped, and the riches he had pillaged. This war ended in the year 1217, when Genghizcan was about sixty-four years of age.

This Emperor having nothing more to fear either from the east, west, or northern parts of Asia, endeavoured to cultivate a sincere friendship with the King of Carizme. He therefore towards the latter end of this year 1217, sent three Ambassadors to him with presents, and a letter which imported * that the possession of so many countries which he had reduced to his obedience, left him nothing more to wish for than the friendship of his neighbours, and therefore he had sent to ask his; to the end that their people might trade together with safety, and find in a perfect union with one another, that repose and plenty which are the chief blessings that can be wished for in all kingdoms. The Mogul Ambassadors had orders to assure Mehomed of the good intention and friendship of their master, but in such a manner as should let him know that Genghizcan thought himself more puissant than he was. They neglected not follow their instructions in every particular. And the King of Carizme, in the audience he gave them, after having let them magnify their master's greatness, failed not, in his turn, to boast of his own power, armies, and the largeness of his empire; in short, he delivered himself with a great deal of haughtiness.

Nevertheless, there being amongst the Ambassadors one who was a native of Carizme, Mehomed had him introduced into his palace in the night, without the knowledge of his colleagues. He first made him a

* God has given me the possession of all the east, even to the frontiers of Carizme; of China, Mogolistan, Turquestan, and all the Mogul tribes. Mirconde.

present of a rich diamond ; after which he conjured him to tell him the truth, and then demanded to know the state of Genghizcan's affairs, and whether it was true that he had made such great conquests in China as was reported. The Ambaffador satisfied all his questions, and added that he counfelled him to ally himself with his master : but perceiving the King took it amifs that he should pretend to advise him, he thought of nothing more than how to flatter and win him ; which he did so well, that the result of this secret conversation was the setting a treaty of peace on foot.

The three Ambaffadors agreed upon the articles with the commissioners of the King of Carizme. Then they asked their audience of leave, and returned with presents both for their master and themselves. Several merchants of Carizme, loaden with the finest merchandizes of that country, accompanied them, and went to traffick in Genghizcan's dominions ; who no longer fearing any enemy, now began to reign in peace.



C H A P. XI.

THE ALTERATION OF THE TREATY OF PEACE MADE
BETWEEN GENGHIZCAN AND THE KING OF CARIZME.
AN ABRIDGEMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE SULTANS
SELJUKIDES, AND THE KINGS OF CARIZME.

GENGHIZCAN was sixty-three years old when he made this peace with Sultan Mehomed King of Carizme: and this treaty was very exactly observed on both sides at the beginning; and more than a year past before either of these Princes gave the least occasion of complaint to each other. Their mutual civilities seemed, on the contrary, to secure their people that their friendship would be of long continuance. But two great neighbouring Princes cannot live long without some jealousy, because their different interests and designs will continually occasion to distrust each other. The King of Carizme could not see Genghizcan's greatness, and the universal veneration the people had for him all over Asia, without regret; especially when he came to reflect that there was not a Prince amongst all the Moguls and Tartars, whether in the north, the west, or east parts, who did not pay him homage; that he gave laws to the proudest Princes, even to those who had most opposed his elevation; that the Cans of Turquestan, and, in a word, all the potentates roundabout, sought the friendship of this Mogul Prince, and slighted his: all these considerations destroyed the union that was between them.

After two years of peace, the King of Carizme in returning from his expedition against Gazna, of which he rendered himself master in 1217, used the Moguls with less respect than before; and his subjects committed such acts of hostility, as obliged Genghizcan to complain of them to their King. Yet these outrages, which were the subject of these complaints, were not the cause of breaking the peace: It was the murder of the Mogul merchants, as the sequel will show.

The King of Carizme being one of the principal persons in this history, and monarch of a vast empire, it is methinks proper to say something of his family, and to tell by what means he arrived at that excessive

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pitch of greatness in which Genghizcan found him. We shall not here make mention of the slaves who were the first authors of it, but begin with their masters, who were the Seljukide Princes, whose family this King had destroyed, and who had been the most illustrious and most powerful Sultans of Asia.

The Seljukides took their name and original from Seljouc the son of Dacac. * This Seljouc was by birth, a Turk, who after having been a long time a General in the army of Wararcan, King of Transoxiana, was killed at the age of a hundred and seven years in a battle, in which he was engaged fighting against that Prince, who would have put him to death, because he feared him. He had four children, Michayl or Michael, Moses surnamed Bigou, Jonas, and Isreal. Michael was the most considerable of them all, and he had also four sons, to wit, Togrulbey, Jacar, Jafer and Arslan.

From this family sprang three branches, the eldest and powerfullest of which, was that of Togrulbey. This Prince made himself master of the great empire of the Califfs, and established himself in Bagdad, A. D. 1055. Heg. 447, where he and his descendants continued to reign to the fourteenth generation. The second branch was that of Jafer-Bey, who was sovereign in Quirman, and other countries towards the Persian sea and India, but it did not continue so long as the other branch. The Sultans of Iconia † made the third branch. Cutlumisch ‡ the son of Isreal, and nephew of Togrulbey, established himself in Asia Minor, about Ann. Dom. 1050. Heg. 442. And those Sultans, tho' far less puissant than those of the elder branch, yet lasted much longer; for they did not end till after the establishment of the Ottoman Turks, who began to reign in the year 1299; § whereas the Seljukides of the eldest branch came to an end in the year 1199.

Michael the father of Togrulbey had acquired a mighty reputation by the great actions he had done

* This Seljouc was in repute at the time that *Hugh Capet* mounted the French throne. *Bin-Abdallatif*.

† These Princes contended with the *French* in the holy wars.

‡ Some *European* historians call him *Cutlu Moses*,

Whilst *Philip the Fair* reigned in *France*.

against the Princes of Gazna; but his son rendered himself yet more famous by the conquest he gained over those of Corassane. * Even the Califf himself asked his assistance against a rebel named Bassaciri, who had taken Bagdad, and was entered into the capital city of the Mahometan empire with the Egyptian banners. Togrul revenged the Califf, freed him from the bonds in which Bassaciri had bound him, and put the traitor to death. He once again delivered this Prince from Boide † the last, and re-established him with honour on his throne the second time.

These fortunate turns served as steps to Togrul to ascend to the greatest dignities. The Califf, to reward his services, married his sister, and gave her as a dowry a hundred thousand crowns of gold. He clothed him in royal robes, and created him Sultan, Ann. Dom. 1036. Heg. 448. Publick prayers were made for him, as for the Califf, in the mosques. In fine, Togrul disposed of all employments in the army, and all the posts in the empire, as also of the revenues. He governed the state, tho' he bore but the title of Sultan under the Califf, and in quality of Captain of his Court, and Grand Chamberlain of his palace.

In the year 1603, he married the Califf's daughter; but dying the same year without issue, his nephew Alubarflan, the son of Jacar, succeeded him, and sustained with no less honour than he had done, the dignity of Sultan, which the Califf invested him withal. Alubarflan took the Grecian Emperor ‡ Diogenes prisoner, and imposed on him for his ransom a yearly tribute of a million of crowns of gold. After Alubarflan, Gelaeddin his son, whose surname was Malecscha, reigned. This was he who conquered Syria by his Lieutenants, and in his own person several other countries in the east. He was the greatest of all the Seljukides. His empire reached from the farthest parts of the country of the Turks even to Jerusalem, and to the confines of Arabia Felix. §

* He was called *Caimo*.

† A Prince of the family of *Bouya*, who had been the first usurper of the power of Califfs under the name of Sultans.

‡ *Bin-Abdallatif* calls this Grecian Emperor *Armanous*.

§ 'Tis to him that the celebrated *Epocha* is attributed, which is called *Gelalcene*, of which the *Persians* make use in their astronomical computations.

These first Seljukide Princes, being naturally inclined to do great actions, such as spoke their goodness and generosity, made sovereign Princes of several of their subjects; which gave occasion to a poet to say that many Sultans were risen from the dust of their feet. Mehomed the King of Carizme, who occasioned us to make mention of these Princes, was of the number of these Sultans last spoke of. Tousef-tekkin, the first of his family, was made Governor of Carizme by the Sultan Malecscha. This Tousef-tekkin was lame, he had a great deal of wit, and was, before his advancement to this post, no more than a slave to Pelcaykin, Governor of this country. His master dying, Malecscha gave him his place, and he did not repay his benefactor with ingratitude. But his son Coutbeddin had not the same sense of the obligations his father had to Malecscha: the quality of a Governor only could not content his ambition.

The Sultan Malecscha died, and his four sons could not agree after his death. The empire was torn by civil wars, and these Princes by their division disjoined this great empire, of which their predecessors had made an entire vast monarchy. It well may be said that the empire of the Seljukide Sultans ended in Gelaeddin Malecscha, altho' nine Princes of the same race reigned after him, without reckoning * Berçaruc his immediate successor. All these disorders were the cause that Jerusalem was taken, when under the Fatimite Califfs of Egypt, and gave opportunity for the other good successes of the holy war which the French with some other European nations undertook in the reign of Philip I. of France.

Besides these private differences which continually arose betwixt these Seljukide Princes, there was daily some dispute or other to decide with the Kings of Carizme, who seemed to think no more of what they owed them. Coutbeddin, proud of the great riches his father had amassed for him, and making advantage of the misunderstandings among the Sultans, took with impunity the name of King. He died Ann. Dom.

* 'Twas this Sultan Berçaruc who sent under the command of Quarbouga that powerful army which he had raised in Persia, and which was defeated by the French, after the taking of Antioch, which it came to succour.

1127. Heg. 522. His successors not only kept possession of their new dominion of Carizme, but even conquered that of Tranfoxiana which belonged to their benefactors, as also the greatest part of the provinces of the Persian empire. * Taquisch the sixth King of Carizme, and the father of Sultan Mehomed, pushed things yet farther; for it was he that by the death of Togrul Arslan, the last Sultan of the Seljukides, extinguished this powerful family. He caused the body of this Prince to be fastened to a gibbet in the city of Rey, and sent his head to the Califf of Bagdad, as if he gloried in outdoing all his ancestors in ingratitude. †

But heaven was not slow to punish these crimes; for the Moguls came soon after to revenge the Seljukides; and it was in the reign of Sultan Coutbeddin Mehomed, the son of this murderer of Togrul Arslan, that due punishment fell upon them.

Mehomed generally used to have a drum beat at the gate of his palace five times a day at the hours of prayer, according to the custom of other Mahometan Princes; but after he had conquered Corassana and some other countries, he became so proud, that to be distinguished from all others, and in contempt even of his own religion, he caused this custom to be changed, or rather this ceremony, and would persuade his officers that he proposed to imitate Alexander, ‡ he ordered the Captain of his guards to let the drum be beat no more only morning and evening: but he augmented the number of the drums even to twenty-seven; and besides their being beat with drum-sticks which were all over set with precious stones, they were beat by twenty-seven Cans or Sovereign Princes.

* *Vid. Nisave in the life of Gelaeddin, taken from Mirconde, Jawini, and other authors.*

† Four verses were composed upon the death of *Togrul Arslan*, the sense of which was this; *Yesterday thy Head wanted but little of touching the sky, so day thy carcase is separated from thy Head many leagues.*

‡ This custom of *Alexander* is not mentioned in any history but in that of Sultan *Gelaeddin*.

AN ENVOY SENT TO GENGHIZCAN FROM THE CALIFF OF BAGDAD, TO RUIN THE INTEREST OF SULTAN MEHOMED, KING OF CARIZME.

GOOD fortune often makes men insolent, and excessive greatness sometimes becomes perjudicial to those who possess it. Mehomed having cut off the heads of above a hundred Princes to make himself master of their treasures and dominions, saw himself, by their deaths, rendered the most powerful monarch of all the Mahometan parts of Asia; and was now so great, that he imagined nothing was able to oppose him. His predecessors had given laws to the Califfs, altho' the Califfs who were the successors of Mahomet, had a right to be always their Sovereigns; yet force often changing the fortune of the great, the Sultans in contempt of their laws and religion, overruled the Califfs, who finding themselves not in a condition to oppose the violence done them, smothered their resentment, and were fain to be contented with a vain deference * which the Sultans still paid them on publick occasions, or times of ceremony.

The Sultan Mehomed would oblige the Califf Nasser to grant him the privileges which the other Sultans had enjoyed under the preceding Califfs; and principally that of establishing his seat in Bagdad, to govern, and be named in the publick prayers as he was. But Nasser believing himself strong enough, boldly refused to comply with his demands, causing Cady Magededdin, the Sultan's Ambassador, to be told in the Divan that his masters demands were unreasonable and unjust: and the Cady citing as a precedent, that the like privileges were granted on the first establishment of the Seljukides; it was answered, that these Princes when they were first called to those honours, and particularly Togrulbey, had done such great services to the state, that the Califfs thought themselves obliged to grant them, as a reward and acknowledgment, the honour of living, nay even

* The Sultans walked on foot before the Califf, and held the bridle of his mule. *Almahin's history of the Saracens.*

commanding in Bagdad as absolute; but that the present Califf Nasser having no war, and by consequence no need of any person's assistance, the Sultan did ill to desire to reign in a city which was the patrimony of the Emperors of the Mussulmen, and where almost all the Califfs his predecessors lay buried. The Cady was sent back with this answer; and the Califf sent with him an Ambassador, who had orders to represent to the Sultan all the reasons Nasser had to refuse him the privileges he had demanded. Mehomed received the Califf's Ambassador very honorably, but he abated nothing of his demands. He even gave this Prince in the sequel all manner of occasions to complain: nay, sometime before Genghizcan's rupture with him, he called a general assembly of the Musties, Cadies, Moulas, Imans, Checs, and other Lawyers, to depose him. He caused another Califf to be named, and brought into the field a great army, with design to go and take Nasser by force in his capital. This army indeed was almost quite destroyed by the frost, snow, and extraordinary rains of a severe winter, and he was obliged to return to his own kingdom: however, the Califf fearing to be in the end reduced to extremities by this Prince, sought all means possible to deliver himself out of his hands; and could find but one, of which he would not have made use, had he preferred the Mahometans interest before his own. He knew Genghizcan's victories, and was not ignorant how potent he was; he therefore resolved to make an alliance with this Prince, and to excite him to declare war with Mehomed, whilst he himself attacked him on the south side.

The Califf called his council, which was composed of the great officers of the empire, in whom he placed most confidence. He represented to them the insolence with which Mehomed treated him, and what he had to fear from the powerfulness of this Sultan, who was able to subdue all the empire, if the course of his ambitious designs were not put a stop to: in fine, he declared to them that as Genghizcan was in a condition to revenge him on this tyrant, and deliver him from this potent enemy; he did design to treat with this Mogul Prince, and to employ on this negotiation a Mahometan na-

med Mahmoud Ilvage, who was vicer to this Grand Can. The Califf's council were divided upon this proposal: some approved of Nasser's sentiments; but others, and the most prudent, were no ways of opinion to have recourse to Genghizcan. If we are resolved, said they, to make war with the Sultan, who is a Mussulman, we ought to seek for means that will not hurt our Religion; and not to bring in, contrary to our laws, the enemies of God into the country of the faithful, who may occasion the ruin of the Mussulmen and the empire.

The Califf's zeal for his Religion could not make him change his sentiments: he answered, that a Mahometan tyrant was worse than one who was an infidel; that it only became cowards to abandon the care of their preservation to avoid the pains of watching; that since they saw themselves threatened with apparent ruin, they must attempt any thing to prevent it; that, besides, Genghizcan did not hate the Mahometan Religion, since he suffered Mahometans to live in his dominions, nay, that even one of his chief Ministers was a Mussulman; and moreover, that they had nothing to fear as to the Moguls in that respect, since it must be many years before they could enter into those countries which were really the Mahometan. In fine, Nasser's opinion prevailed, and it was resolved that a wise man should be sent into Mogolistan. And as it was necessary that this design should be kept secret, and the envoy being obliged to pass cross the Sultan's dominions, they could not give him any letter or paper to carry, or any thing that might discover him if surprized; it was therefore proposed to write upon his bare head: and this expedient was approved of. They instructed him in his business, caused his head to be shaved, and thereon wrote his credentials in few words, which they drew in violet colour, called by them Nil * having formed the letters with the point of a needle, as they are used to do to the pilgrims at Jerusalem, then they immediately ordered him to depart, and make all the haste he was able, but above all, not to tarry in any place on the way, till he was arrived at Genghizcan's Court.

* That is, *Indian Blue*.

The Envoy had the good fortune to get safe to the Vifler Mahmoud Ilvage with those that accompanied him ; and he assured this minister of his master's esteem and affection. Mahmoud received him very well, and informed the Grand Can of his arrival. This Prince would have had him received publicly with the usual ceremonies, but the Envoy desired to be excused from appearing in public, because of the secrecy which the affair he came about required. A private audience was then given him, in which he made known to the Grand Can the subject of his Embassy ; but presenting no credentials, and Genghizcan seeming doubtful of him, he said, if he would order the hair which was grown upon his head since his departure from Bagdad to be cut off, they should see that he had spoke nothing but what was true. They cut off his hair, the writing appeared, and they saw that the Califf promised to make war with the King of Carizme, if Genghizcan would attack him on his side in that part of his dominions that bordered on his.

The Mogul Emperor, to whom the Sultan's greatness failed not to give some umbrage, did not absolutely reject the Califf's proposal ; but he would give no positive answer to the Envoy. It is unknown whether it was the design of better regulating his own affairs which withheld him, or that the sweetness of the repose he now enjoyed after the fatigues of his past wars allured him, or that the shame of breaking so soon the peace he had so lately made with the Sultan, hindered him from laying hold of this opportunity to humble the pride of Mehomed. He told the Envoy he was sensibly touched with the ill-treatment the Califf had received, but that the treaty he had just concluded with the King of Carizme did not at this time permit him to make war with him ; yet notwithstanding, his master need only have a little patience, for that the Sultan's restless spirit, would not suffer him to let things rest long in the posture they now were : and that, in brief, he might assure the Califf, that on the first occasion he should have to fall out with Mehomed, he would not fail to declare war against him. The Envoy returned to Bagdad with this answer.

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The Mahometan historians have very much blamed this negotiation of the Califf Nasser, because the consequence of it was unfortunate. And altho' it does not appear that this Prince did ever give any assistance to Genghizcan ; yet his having but excited him to make war with Mehomed was sufficient to draw upon him the reproaches of all the Mahometans.

* One Persian author, after having much condemned this step of the Califf, compares him to three devout pilgrims, of whom a fable is related, which is much talked of in the countries of the Levant ; and in reality the application is good. One day, says he, three devout pilgrims travelling together, perceived in the fields some rotten bones ; they stopped to consider them, they disputed, and neither of the three could agree to what kind of animal it was these bones belonged. They therefore resolved to pray to God that the animal might return to life, and agreed to make their prayers one after the other. The first had not finished his prayer before a great wind rose and brought the scattered bones together. Heaven heard the prayer of the second also, and the bones were covered with veins, nerves and flesh. And the prayer of the third completed the miracle : life entered into the machine, which began to stir ; and they immediately beheld a Lion strong and terrible, who getting upon his feet, came and devoured the three devout pilgrims who had made so many prayers for him.

* A remarkable fable of three devout pilgrims, from *Mirconde*.



C H A P. XIII.

OF FIVE GREAT QUEENS, THE WIVES OF GENGHIZCAN;
AND OF HIS FOUR PRINCIPAL OR DARLING SONS.

THOUGH Genghizcan declined war for the present, yet he called the Princes of all nations of his Court. He rewarded all those who had served him in his past wars, caressed those who had not, and endeavoured to gain by kindness and presents, the love of those turbulent spirits whom he had reason to fear; in fine, he treated all people, Moguls, Tartars, Turks and Chinese, in such a manner, that he was no less beloved of the people he had conquered, than of his own natural subjects.

He likewise made several regulations in his own family, and particularly in relation to the Princesses his wives, who were very numerous. One historian makes mention of near five hundred, besides his concubines; and he says, that amongst all these ladies there were five who had a greater share of his esteem than all the rest, and who consequently had much more power over him: Guzisuren, the daughter of the Can of the Naimans, who was Genghizcan's first wife; Purta Cougine, daughter to the Can of Congorato Boulgine, * the daughter of Ounghecan King of the Keraïtes, some call her by another name; † Cub-coutatun, the daughter of the King of China; and Coulancatun, the daughter of Dairason a Mogul Can of the Merkite nation. This last lady was an extraordinary beauty.

He had a prodigious number of children, but he made a great difference betwixt his sons. He had but four, who had sovereign power and command in his wars and dominions. These four Princes had all great employments; and there is so little mention made of his other sons, that it seems as if he had had no more than them. Some authors have given a reason for this proceeding. They say that the Moguls, particularly the Princes, did not esteem their children but in pro-

* *Abulfarage* calls this third Lady, *Ovisoulougine*.

† *Abulcair* is mistaken, when he says that *Purta Cougine* was the daughter of *Ounghecan*, King of the Keraïtes.

portion to the nobility of their mothers ; but Genghizcan's conduct does contradict this opinion, since Purta Cougine, the mother of these four Princes who were so highly preferred before the rest, was but the daughter of a petty Prince or Can of the Congorats, and Genghizcan had children born of Princesses who were the daughters of Kings, and lived in his court as private persons. Not that this children were absolutely deprived of all authority, for they were all Princes and Cans like the rest of their brothers ; but their fortune was limited to petty Governments or Lordships. the greatest part of them were settled in Mogolistan, where the Emperor their father gave them for their portions several provinces in the eastern parts ; as also to his brothers, amongst whom Prince Utakin was distinguished from the rest by the great employments he gave him, and above all by being Governor of the kingdom of China, which was entrusted to him by Genghizcan, during his war with the King of Carizme. Jougicassar, his second brother, had also considerable preferments, and was one of the Generals of his army.

Touschican, by some called Jougic, was the eldest of Purta Cougine's sons, the second was named Zagataycan, the third Ostaycan, and the fourth Tuliccan. The Emperor their father, after having studied their tempers and inclinations, which much pleased him, resolved to make them his chief Ministers, and to confer upon them the most important posts in the empire. He made Touschican master-huntsman of the empire. This was the most considerable post, because of the huntings with which the Moguls were dispensably obliged to exercise themselves. He chose his second son to be chief judge, and gave him the title of the Director of the Law,* and he ordered that all the Courts of Justice in his empire should be dependant on his. It was Zagataycan who ordained the punishments inflicted on those who did not observe and keep the Laws, and took care to preserve them uncorrupted. Prince Ostaycan had the post of chief Counsellor: he showed so great prudence

* *Zagatay* was the chief Director of the Laws; he had them all put into order in writing, was the depository of them, and caused those to be punished who transgressed them. *Mirconde*.

The celebrated Laws amongst the Tartars, were called *Yasa Genghizcan*.

and wisdom, that Genghizcan judged him worthy of that place, and undertook nothing of moment without consulting him. The warlike affairs were committed to Tulican's care, the youngest of the four; the Generals depended on him, and received the Grand Can's orders from him.



THE KING OF CARIZME'S CONDUCT TOWARDS THE
MOGULS. THE MOGUL MERCHANTS GO TO CARIZME.

GENGHIZCAN was employed in regulating his family, when he was informed that the Sultan Mehommed began to be weary of the good understanding and peaceable way of living they had both enjoyed, and that in contempt of the treaty of peace made between them, he committed acts of hostility. The King of Carizme not believing the Moguls so valiant as they really were, tho' he was not ignorant of the conquests they had made, all which he attributed less to their bravery than the cowardice of the people they had vanquished; he hence concluded that the Mahometans, being used to triumph over their enemies, would not suffer themselves to be vanquished by the Moguls: these considerations made him determine to break with Genghizcan. For this reason he sometimes sent parties of his soldiers into the countries belonging to the Moguls, without leave from the officers who commanded there; and sometimes when they passed with permission, they abused the people, as if war had been declared between them. Nay, sometimes the Sultan's soldiers made inroads into the Mogul Turquestan, and carried away all they could lay hands of. At last he seized of a province that had belonged to Caschluc, which the Grand Can pretended to have a right to, by the law of arms; and one day, by Mehommed's order, his soldiers attacked the Mogul troops that guarded the frontiers of the country of Ardisch, and forced them, tho' against their wills, to fight.

They, in short, did more than enough to irritate a Prince who often said, to inform the world to what a degree he was sensible of injuries, that the anger of Kings was like fire, which had need but of little wind to make a great conflagration. Yet all these injuries were not sufficient to provoke Genghizcan to resolve upon a war: nay, he would not even make reprisals; but, on the contrary, imagined that he could gain the Sultan's affection by his civility, and was resolved to make the union between them stronger than ever. It is true, several weighty reasons inclined him to it; first the commerce that he had resolved to establish

between the two nations, as well for gold stuffs, silver, and silk, as also for other things of which he knew his subjects had need, and the advantage of which he was not ignorant of; besides, the Moguls were naturally clownish, and he thought their being frequented by, and often conversing with strangers, would polish and improve them. We must add to these considerations, that he had a great desire to know the disposition and nature of the people of the southern parts of Asia, of which he had as yet but very little knowledge; and that he hoped to learn it of those who came thither to trade, or those he sent along with them at their return to get information. All these reasons made him resolve to treat anew with the Sultan Mehomed, and to send an Ambassador accompanied with several Mogul merchants, as also with those of Carizme, who had lived in his dominions for five or six years past. He ordered his wives, the Princes his sons, and also the great Lords, each of them to send some one of their people with these merchants, to buy in foreign countries as they past, whatever they could meet with that was fine or proper for them.

All these things were done according to the Emperor's desire. Every great person made a considerable provision of balischs, or purses full of gold and silver, * and gave it to the officer he chose out of his family to go the journey. The balisch of gold was worth seventy, -five dinars of gold, † and the dinar is much about the value of a French crown of gold, as it went in those days. As to the balisch of silver, it must be valued according to the difference there is betwixt these two metals in weight and value; and, in fine, a balisch is what is at present called all over Turkey, a purse.

All the officers of the Princes and great Lords set out, accompanied with a hundred and fifty Mogul merchants, the greatest part of whom were Mahometans; there were also some who were Christians. ‡ There went to head them four of the principal ones, who had more experience than the others, to whom the Emperor particularly recommended the management of trading. And the better to provide for the

* A balich is a purse of five hundred crowns.

† A dinar is a ducat of gold.

‡ The four principal merchants were named *Omarcoja*, *Atthemal*, *Fereddin*, and *Animeddin*.

security of their journey, the Carajas, * or guards of the roads, already established in the empire for the safety of passengers, were doubled. All these troops of merchants marched under the protection of an Ambassador, who carried with him presents, and a credential letter, to propose a new treaty, with orders to acquaint the Sultan, that the Emperor sent him back the merchants of Carizme who came to trade in his kingdoms; that he dismissed them well pleased and well attended; that he hoped his subjects would find with him all sort of protection, and that they would return to Mogolistan without receiving any ill treatment, since he had sent them with design to perpetuate that union and friendship which now reigned between them.

The Mogul merchants past thro' the Mogolistan, Caracatay and Turquestan, with the freedom due to the Ambassador whom they accompanied; and arrived safely in the kingdom of Carizme, as far as the city of Otrar, which the Arabs call Farab. It was situate on the other side of the river Sihon, at the farthest extremity to the westward of Turquestan; and its territory on the east side was bounded by the country of Aschafch. † Otrar was a place of great trade betwixt the Turks and Mahometans, and there were in it many men of great abilities and skill in traffick.

The Governor of this city was named Gayercan, or Najal-Can; his mother was aunt to Mehomed, and by consequence was cousin to the Sultan; for which reason some have given him the quality of Emir or Prince. He received the Moguls at first with the Hoschgueldy or Sofagueldy, that is to say, with assuring them they should receive all the good treatment that strangers could hope for from a people with whom they were at peace. The Mogul Ambassador acquainted him with the subject of his Embassy, and the orders he had to make all possible haste to the Sultan's Court, who was at that time in Yrac Agemi, that is to say, the Persian Hircania. Gayercan told him he was going to write to Mehomed, and that as soon as ever he had received this Prince's orders, he would not fail to conduct him with all his Moguls to the Court. In the mean time all the merchants who were natives of Carizme, retired to Transoxiana, every one to his own home and town whereunto he belonged.

* Called in the Persian Language *Rahdars*.

† Situate in 44 degrees of latitude.

C H A P. XV.

THE MOGUL MERCHANTS ARE ASSASSINATED, AND THE PEACE BROKEN.

THE Mogul Ambassador, deceived by the civil treatment the Governor gave him, was too open in speaking of the money which the merchants had brought with them. Gayercan, who came not behind any Governor in point of covetousness, was transported to find so good an opportunity to enrich himself. He wrote to the Sultan in a subtle manner, telling him there were just arrived in Otrar people from Genghizcan, who said they were merchants, and a man who called himself an Ambassador, but that he much suspected them; that they were very inquisitive to inform themselves of the strength of the places and forces in that country, with an exactness that appeared to him to proceed from some farther design than curiosity only; in a word, that he believed them to be spies, and that he was of opinion they should not have liberty given them to view the countries, because it seemed to him that their master had only sent them to discover the most safe and easy way for him to invade the Sultan by.

This letter made a great impression on Mehomed. He sent orders to the Governor to watch the Moguls, and to do in this conjuncture whatsoever his prudence suggested to him. Gayercan, charmed with receiving an answer which so favoured the design he studied to bring about, resolved to murder the Mogul merchants immediately, and even the Ambassador himself, whom he invited with all the merchants to his palace, pretending that he would inform them of the Sultan's answer which he had received. He told him, that the King of Carizme had ordered him to treat the Moguls for some days, and then to conduct them to his Court. Thus this Governor drew them all to his palace, where he had prepared a great entertainment; but having them in his power, he caused them to be secretly murdered one after another, and seized on all their treasure. They were in number four hundred and fifty persons. Gayercan persuaded himself that Genghizcan would never come to the knowledge of this cruel

assaffination ; or that if this Prince should get information of it, and resolve to revenge himself by force of arms, Mehomed would be pleased, who desired nothing more than to enter into a war with the Grand Can. Notwithstanding all possible precautions used by the Governor to conceal his crime, God so ordered it, that he was discovered ; for one of the Moguls found a way to get out of the palace, by making one of the officers a considerable present for saving his life. He soon reached the frontiers of Turquestan, and from thence fled to Mogolistan with all diligence.

The Emperor was no sooner informed by this merchant of what had happened at Otrar, but he swore to be revenged. He that hour dispatched away three Ambassadors to the King of Carizme, to make complaint of so cruel an action, and to ask him the reason why he had broken the treaty of peace, and what crime the Moguls had committed ; that Gayercan had caused them to be assaffinated contrary to the law of nations, an inviolable right established amongst Kings as a means to communicate to each other their designs, and to maintain a mutual friendship. He charged them, besides, to represent to the Sultan, that the greatest part of the merchants and the other Moguls whom he had massacred at Otrar, profess the Mahometan religion ; and what rendered the murder of them yet more vile and inexcusable, was, that the Carizmean merchants who had come to traffick in his own country, had been kindly treated, and received no injury ; that if this villainous assaffination had been committed without his knowledge and consent, he ought forthwith to clear himself by delivering up the author to be punished ; on the contrary, if he approved this action of Gayercan, he had orders to declare war against him.

The Mogul Ambassadors being arrived at Mehomed's Court, without passing near Otrar, demanded audience, and obtained it. They declared the subject of their embassy, and spoke so smartly, that the King of Carizme, instead of disavowing his kinsman's crime, cut off their heads. It was thus the proud Sultan received the Mogul Ambassadors, without reflecting on the misfortunes that would attend his cruelty, which all the Mahometans did in the end feel the effect of.

The Historian Abulfarage tells us that Genghizcan was so touched with this barbarous proceeding of Mehomed, that he wept, and could take no rest till he had got all things in readiness to revenge him. He went, says this author, to the top of a hill, where uncovering his head, he prayed God to prosper his undertakings against a faithless Prince whom he was going to punish; and he remained in this place three nights and days without taking any sustenance. In the middle of the third night, a Monk clothed in black appeared to him in a dream, and warned him to fear nothing, for that he should be successful in all his undertakings. The Emperor when he awoke was struck with this dream. He returned to his palace, and related this vision to his wife Oboulgine, Ounghean's daughter. This Princess, after having heard him very attentively, assured him that this Monk whom he had seen in his sleep, and described to her, was a Bishop who sometimes used to come and visit her father, the late King of the Keraites, and was used to give him his blessing. Abulfarage adds, that Genghizcan inquired of the Christian Yugures who dwelt in his Court, if they had not a Bishop amongst them; they answered, yes, and sent to the Bishop of Mardenha, who wore a black mitre: that when he came to him, the Grand Can said, that in truth this Bishop had the same fashioned habit that the Monk had on who appeared to him, but not the same face: that the Bishop answered him, that the person whom his Majesty had seen was certainly one of the Christian Saints: that from this time the Emperor had always a love for the Christians, and treated them very honourably: and, that he failed not to publish this vision to the soldiery, who were more confirmed by it in the opinion they had already conceived that this Prince had a communication with God.

It is not surprizing that Genghizcan should employ the fiction of a dream to animate his soldiers; since many heroes before him have had recourse to the same expedient. Alexander the Great, for example, desirous to revenge himself upon the Tyrians, (who had likewise put his Ambassador to death) made his army believe that Hercules had appeared to him, and took him by the hand to introduce him into the city of Tyre. What makes me not credit the Arabian histo-

rian, is, that he gives Genghiacan an effeminate character, in representing him irresolute, and shedding tears. All the other authors represent him in a manner much more becoming a hero: they say, that he was in a rage when they brought him the news of the Ambassadors deaths, and immediately resolved to enter with fire and sword into the Sultan's dominions; that he caused the Princes his children, his Nevians, Emirs, and all the other great Lords of his Court, to come into his presence, not to consult with them about what he had to do, but to inform them of the perfidy and insolence of the King of Carizme.

It is related in Abulcair's history, that when he recounted to them the story of the merchants being assassinated at Otrar by the Sultan's consent, he set forth their deaths in such dismal colours, that he filled all their hearts with grief and anger; and that he represented the murder of the Ambassadors with such fire, that it inspired nothing but vengeance and fury. After having spoke of Mehomed's crimes, he made mention of the other acts of hostility committed in Turquestan by this Prince's Lieutenants, the complaints of the Califf Nasser, the death of Scher Magededdin, great Judge of the Mahometan empire, who had been most unjustly condemned. He finished his discourse with reflecting how faithfully he on his part had observed the treaty of peace with the Sultan: which so sensibly touched his auditors, that looking upon the King of Carizme as a monster, they all offered to risque their lives and fortunes to revenge the affront done to their Emperor and nation. This resentment of the courtiers spread itself soon amongst the people; and there was not a soldier who did not show his impatience to go against so detestable an enemy.



C H A P. XVI.

PREPARATION FOR WAR AGAINST THE KING OF CARIZME. THE STATE OF ASIA AT THE TIME OF THE MOGUL'S IRRUPTION.

GENGHIZCAN seeing his subjects thus incensed against his enemy, like a wise man improved this favourable opportunity of executing his designs: and knowing that delays are always prejudicial in war-like affairs, he commanded Prince Tuli to lose no time in getting the army ready. Tuli sent orders to the Generals in all parts, to let them know the Emperor's pleasure. The chief Officers repaired to Court, and were present in the last great council that was held to consult on the operations of the war which was going to be undertaken. After this, they returned to their several posts, in order to bring their troops to the place appointed for the general rendezvous. An express was sent to Prince Touschi, who was at that time in Capschac, to warn him to be there at the time prefixed.

After the Grand Can had sent on foot the number of troops that he thought fit to draw out of his own empire, he wrote to the foreign Princes, both those who paid him tribute. He acquainted them with the reasons he had to complain of the King of Carizme, and the resolution he had taken to be revenged of him by the sword for the contempt that Prince had shown of his friendship. He invited them all to partake of the laurels he promised himself to gain, and desired them to join him immediately with their troops.

In the mean time, to prevent the troubles that might arise in the empire during his absence, he every where established wise and experienced Governors, and principally in China and Mogolistan. He also ordained that lives should be made, both to send to him during his expedition, as also to keep his conquered subjects in awe who might be inclined to rebel; and, in fine, he drew out of China, Caracatay, and Mogolistan, all those great men whom he thought able to give him any disturbance, either by their credit with the people, or by their active spirits; and thus under pretence of doing them honour, or giving them employments, he cleared his provinces of all the seditious, ringleaders of the people. He also made some new laws, which he thought necessary for

the regulating his soldiery : He forbid, under pain of death, the Moguls to betake themselves to flight without fighting, what danger soever there might be in resisting. As all the divisions and commands in his army run upon the number ten, he established a law, importing, that if of ten commanders whose troops were joined together in one body, one of the officers or troops should offer to break their ranks and fly, without the whole body's joining in it they should be killed upon the spot without delay. He also made it death for any out of ten, who seeing their companions engaged in fight, did not go to assist them; or who being present at the taking of one of their comrades prisoner, did not endeavour to free him. He appointed the proper arms which each soldier should carry; the chief of which was the sabre, the bow and quiver full of arrows, and the battle-axe, with some ropes: the officers were to have helmets and breast-plates either of leather or an entire armour or coat of mail; and it was not forbidden the private soldiers to wear armour if they were able to buy it. Those who were rich were obliged to arm their horses in such a manner, that their enemies' arrows could not wound them. It was also ordained that the soldiers, whether in sieges or other martial enterprizes, should do nothing but what was pursuant to the tenor of the laws; and that if any were found to act otherwise, they should be punished with the utmost severity.

To these regulations the Emperor added one more: he commanded that if he died in this war which he was now going to undertake, the books in which the laws were written should be brought and read in the presence of his children in the midst of the assembly, when they elected a Grand Can, to the end that the election might be made according to the laws, and that the new Can might regulate his conduct by them in all that concerned him.

What all these preparations for war were compleated, Genghizcan came with the Princes his sons, and the rest of his Court, at the place where he had assigned his Generals to meet; and there he found his army assembled, the finest sight he had ever seen. And a historian, to describe their strength and number, makes the spies who the King of Carizme had sent to view them, speak thus: they are, say they to the Sultan, all compleat men, vigorous, and look like wrestlers; they breathe nothing but war and blood, and show so great an impatience to fight, that the Generals can scarce

moderate it : yet tho' they appear thus fiery, they keep themselves within the bounds of a strict obedience to command, and are intirely devoted to their Prince ; they are contented with any sort of food, and are not curious in the choice of beasts to eat, like Mussulmen, so that they are subsisted without much trouble ; and they not only eat swines-flesh, but feed upon wolves, bears, and dogs, when they have no other meat, making no distinction betwixt what was lawful to eat, and that was forbidden ; and the necessity of supporting life takes from them all that dislike which the Mahometans have for many sorts of animals : as to their number, (they concluded) Genghizcan's troops seemed like the grasshoppers, impossible to be numbered.

In reality, this Prince making a review of his army, found it to consist of seven hundred thousand men. This is not surprizing, when we consider the great extent of the countries Genghizcan had subdued, and reflect, that besides his own troops, he had all his friends and tributaries, and even those of the Sultan's enemies, which were joined with the Emperor's, and therefore his army might be as numerous as is reported. And it is not an unexampled thing in Asia for a Prince to have such a mighty army : that of Darius was composed of seven hundred and fifty thousand men, as is credibly reported, when he made war against Alexander. But let that be as it will, the Grand Cam marched with his army, and advanced towards Sultan Mehomed, Ann. Dom. 1218. And since it is from the date of this expedition that the great irruption of the Moguls and Tartars into the southern parts of Asia is reckoned to commence, it is fit to observe the state this part of the world was in at that time.

The Indians were governed by many Kings, the most powerful of whom was the King of the Patans. The southern China, which was called Mangi, had its particular monarch ; and the northern, that is to say, Cathay, was under the Moguls, as were also both the Tartaries, the east and north, with a great part of the west, and of Turquestan. The Sultan Mehomed possessed also several parts of Turquestan and all Transoxiana ; besides which, he was master of the best part of the empire of Persia, called by the Persians Iran ; and all the Corassane, all the frontiers of India, the country of the Medes, which was called Azerbijana, and the Persian Hircania otherwise called Iac. Agemi, were dependent upon him. The ancient

Persia, called Fars, of which Schiraz was the capital, and several other provinces, lived under his Government. In a word, the Sovereigns of the antient empires of Persia, and the Medes and Perthians, were almost all become subject to him, and paid him tribute.

Georgia and the countries adjacent had their own particular Princes who were independent. As for the great Armenia, its King paid tribute to the King of Carizme. The Califf Nasser reigned in Bagdad over Chaldea, otherwise called Irac Araby, over a part of Mesopotamia, the three Arabias, and some other countries of Persia. The Atabequite Princes of Mousel, improperly called Naniveh, the descendants of the great Nouredin Prince of Syria, possessed almost all the rest of Mesopotamia; but the city wars, caused by the minority of Nassereddin and by ambition, held these Princes in arms one against another. At this time the successors of Saladin were also very powerful, one part of Syria had submitted to them, * and Egypt acknowledged them for Sovereigns.

The Sultans of Iconia, of the third branch of the Seljukides, governed in Asia Minor, or Anatolia, which the orientals call Biladerroum, that is to say the country of the new Romans: † Azzeddin Keicaous reigned there. The sceptre of the empire of Constantinople, which as yet bore sway in some parts of Asia, was at this time in the hands of the French, who had made themselves master of it, Ann. Dom. 1203. Heg. 601.

The Christians affairs in Palestine were at this time in a very ill posture; they had lost the kingdom and city of Jerusalem, which, with many others, were taken from them by Saladin, Ann. Dom. 1187. Heg. 583, and there remained in their hands but some few places, as the city of Acre or Ptolemais, which Philip Augustus King of France, aided by Richard King of England, had conquered, according to the account of William of Tyre, in 1191, or 1192, as also the city of Tyrus, Cæsarea, and Tripoly in Syria. This was pretty near the state of affairs in Asia at the time of the Moguls irruption in 1218, and 1219, whilst Lewis the son Philip Augustus, according to Calvisius, was employed against the Albigenes.

* *Almalchal Kamel*, Saladin's nephew, began then to reign.

† He died Ann. Dom. 1219. Heg. 616, and *Aladin Keicabad* succeeded him.

CHAP. XVII.

GENGHIZCAN'S ARRIVAL IN THE DOMINIONS OF THE
SULTAN OF CARIZME, THE BATTLE OF CARACOU.

HISTORIANS do not precisely mention the places by which the Moguls entered into the King of Carizme's dominions. They do not so much as mention in what month of the year he left Mogolistan. They only assure us, that he marched by Caracatay and Turquestan in the year of the Hare, which was A. D. 1218. Heg. 615, and that his troops entered into the province of Farab, of which the city of Otrar was the capital, near the river of Alsichasche, otherwise called the Sihon or Jaxartes, situate in the forty-fourth degree of latitude. Genghizcan was then sixty-five years of age.

In the mean while, the Sultan of Carizme, who had by his spies learned the Moguls preparations for war, was not idle : he had caused several considerable levies to be made, and had neglected nothing that could procure him a powerful army, notwithstanding the contempt he had before shewn for these his enemies. And Feraber, a town in the territory of Bicara, situate in thirty-eight degrees and forty minutes of latitude, in the confines of the dominions of the ancient Carizme, being one of the most easy passages to enter by from Corassanne into Transoxiana, the Sultan made choice of it to be the place of the general rendezvous. The troops of Corassanne, of Balc or the Bactrians, of Persia, the borders of India, and other part of Iran, who obeyed the Sultan of Carizme, repaired thither. These he joined with those of Touran, who were under the command of Gelaleddin the son of Mehomed : and then the Sultan went and viewed his army, taking upon himself the command of the troops of Iran ; and when all the army was come together, they were found to be four hundred thousand fighting men. *

Tho' this army was very great, yet it was far inferior in number to that of the Moguls. Some Cariz-

* *Abulcain* makes mention but of three hundred thousand soldiers.

mean Generals, on the spies report, took the liberty to represent to the Sultan the inequality of the armies ; but this Prince was too proud to hearken to their remonstrances : ‘ Do you fear the Moguls, said he ; and do you not well know, that if they have more men than we, yet to balance that we have more courage than they ? The Moguls are but Moguls, that is to say, enemies whom we have no reason to fear. If they have gained some advantages, and vanquished some nations, they were only Pagans who were unskilled in the art of war ; but now they are going to deal with Mahometans who are well versed in arms, who have conquered Persia and all the rest of Iran, and whom no nation or people has as yet been able to conquer ; men who have triumphed over the most warlike nations in all Asia : therefore resolve to execute my orders, and bravely second me, and be assured that these rash men shall soon know to their own cost, the difference between you and those cowardly people they have conquered. Let my troops march in four bodies, to the end they may the better subsist, and take the road to the country of Alschasche, whither I will soon come to put myself at the head of them.’

The King of Carizme’s Generals obeyed, and the army was conducted thither in so good order, that nothing was wanting. This Prince kept his word, he past the river of Jaxartes * with his troops, and led them to Otrar, not doubting but that the Mogul Emperor had a design upon that city, both because of the bloody scene that had been acted there, and by reason it would open him a free passage into the very heart of the kingdom of Carizme. In short, he found the Moguls in a place called Caracou. The two armies immediately prepared to fight, and in a little time the squadrons and battalions on both sides appeared ranged in order of battle. Then the great trumpet Kerrena, which was fifteen foot long, was sounded ; the brass timbrels called cous, the drums, fifes, and other warlike instruments, played, sounding the charge. The Carizmeans, who were all Mahometans, implor-

* *Jaxartes* was called *Sihon* by the orientals.

ed the assistance of their false Prophet; and the Moguls trusting to their good fortune, and the conduct of the Emperor, promised themselves a compleat victory.

Jougi Cassar, Genghizcan's second brother, commanded the Mangalay. * He advanced towards the first ranks of the enemies, who immediately declared some troops to charge him, but this Prince defeated them. Then Gelaleddin the Sultan's son began the general fight, and charged Prince Touschi, who was at the head of the first body of Moguls; their troops joined, and after a very long and sharp dispute, Gelaleddin got the better. Than the Carizmeans thought themselves secure of the victory, and nothing, was heard in their army but shouts of joy. But Genghizcan, not much surprized at their success, sent other troops, under the command of Tulican, to support Touschi, whilst he at the head of the main body of his army with his son Zagatay fell upon the Sultan, who very ill-treated his left wing. This shock was terrible. The Carizmeans, animated by the example of their King who fought with extraordinary bravery, maintained the advantage they had gotten as long as they were able; yet notwithstanding the resolution with which the Sultan fought, he saw himself at last forced to quit the field of battle, and began to give back, the Prince his son, after having beat the other troops sent against him, made haste to rejoin him, and renewed the fight. The Mahometans took fresh courage, and returned to the charge with more fury than before. Gelaleddin did on this occasion most surprising things, and the very common soldiers and officers made appear their extraordinary valour.

On the other hand, the Moguls did no ways fail of their usual bravery, and never behaved themselves more valiantly than on this occasion; and having now to do with men as courageous as themselves, there was a dreadful slaughter on both sides, and the victory remained doubtful a long time: but at last, the Mogul Emperor, who had still a great body of reserve under the conduct of his son Ostay, bid him march and charge the enemy in the flank. Ostay executed his orders with much courage; and these fresh troops made

* *Mangalay* is sometimes taken for the van-guard, sometimes for the forlorn hope, and sometimes for the scouts.

a terrible havock. In the mean time, the Carizmeans sustained this last attack with great firmness. They fought till it was night; then each party retired to their camps, and gathered up their wounded as well as they could. After this, they fortified themselves on both sides all they could, to avoid being surprized, and with design to renew the fight the day following. But when the King of Carizme came to examine the state of his troops, and found they were diminished by more than a hundred add sixty thousand men killed and wounded, he thought no more of renewing the fight. And what the spies reported quite took from him all inclination to it; for they all said, that the Mogul army, tho' so ill-treated, were still much superior to his in number: he therefore thought only how to put himself into such a condition as might secure him from being soon attacked. He entrenched himself so, that Genghizcan did not think fit to venture it, nor was so rash as to undertake to force his camp.

* During this short suspension of arms, the Sultan not daring to risque a second battle, the loss of which would have entirely been the ruin of his kingdom, resolved to distribute his army into the most considerable places of strength, and to provide for the safety of the rest the best he could. He then sent garrisons into his best cities, and kept with him only a flying camp, to be ready to march where there was the most urgent occasion. He gave all the rest of his troops to Prince Gelaeddin, who did not approve of this his design, and contrary to his commands, retired to Corassana, where he increased his army with all the troops he could get together. And in truth, in thus dividing his forces, the King of Carizme yielded the victory to his enemy; who seeing himself master of the field, sent his two sons the Princes Octay and Zagatay, to besiege Otrar with two hundred thousand men. † Prince Touschi went farther off, towards the

* This battle was fought in the beginning of the year 1219. *Heg.* 616, on the borders of the country of the *Gtes*. One historian says that it was in the kingdom of Carizme; but that does not contradict the other; because that in that time all the countries from beyond the river *Jaxartes* to the *Oxus*, whatever particular names they had, were looked upon as a part of the kingdom of Carizme, because they belonged to the Sultan *Mehomed*.

† *Abulfarage*, in his history of the *Dynasties*, mentions the siege of Otrar in the year 1213, but he is mistaken, for it was in 1219, according to the account by the best authors.

west, between the Faxartes and Capschac, to observe what past there, and wait his father's orders. Elac Nevian was his Lieutenant General, and a hundred thousand men were under his command. Besides this, many Mogul Captains went with their troops into Turquestan, and into other countries towards the east, and did much mischief there.

Yet they still remained with Genghizcan more than two hundred thousand men, which he used for his own expeditions. It was with these troops, accompanied with Prince Tuli, he marched to Bacara and Samarcande, not only to hinder the succours that might get together and be sent to the places which were besieged, but to besiege these two cities, and reduce them to his obedience.



THE SIEGE OF OTTAR.

SO soon as the Princes Ostay and Zagatay had received their orders from the Grand Can their Father to besiege Otrar, * they marched their troops and sat down before that place, having first got provisions, and all other things necessary for a siege which they with reason judged would last long. Some of the inhabitants of that city being taken and brought before them, informed them, that, besides the strength of the walls, a great number of troops garrisoned it; that ten thousand horse, commanded by Cariacas, Captain of the Guards to the Sultan, were a few days before got into it; and, that Governor had before his coming caused fifty thousand fighting men to come into that city: † They added, that there was in Otrar so great a plenty of all sorts ammunition and provisions, that the besieged could not want any thing for a long time; and that Gayercan had turned out all the useless mouths.

Ostay and Zagatay sent word to the Grand Can what condition the place was in that they were going to besiege, which obliged the Emperor to go in person and view the place. Being come there, he set up his pavilion before the walls, took a view of the outworks, and having well examined them every where, gave these Princes his advice, or rather his commands, what to do; and then he went for Transoxiana, where he had great designs to execute. After his departure the Princes first fixt the quarters for the army round about the city; and then fortifying themselves, ordered out some troops to guard their convoys of provisions. In a word, they used all means imaginable to render themselves soon masters of the place.

Gayercan on his side took all the measures possible to defend himself. He employed the inhabitants and soldiers in fortifying their walls still more than they were before, raised new towers to incommode

* Sometimes this city was called by the name of *Farab*, because it was the capital of the province of that name.

† *Abulfarage* says, five thousand men; but this's fault in the printing, for he meant fifty thousand, according to the report of other authors.

the besiegers, and regulated the quantity of viſuals that he would permit them to conſume every day.

The Mogul began the ſiege with bringing up their battering rams, and other engines, particularly thoſe which could defend and ſcreen the men who were employed to fill up the town-ditch. Gayercan uſed all his efforts to hinder them. He gave orders that frequent ſallies ſhould be made upon them, and ſhot an infinite number of arrows from the top of the walls; and the beſieged made ſo good uſe of their burning darts, that they often burnt the Moguls engines, who were not able for a long time to fill up the ditch: yet at laſt they accompliſhed it, and the Mahometans were obliged to place all their hopes in the ſtrength of their walls, and the valour of thoſe who defended them.

When the ground was leveled, and the outworks were no longer a hindrance to the Moguls, the Princes cauſed a great number of engines and battering rams to be played againſt the city, to beat down the walls; but the beſieged made frequent ſallies, and moſt times with good ſucceſs, often burning the beſiegers engines or rendering them uſeleſs by ſlinging againſt them ſtones and other things from the top of the towers: ſo that the Mogul Princes ſeeing many months were paſt without having made any conſiderable progreſs, and that they had already loſt a great many men, reſolved to do nothing more without the advice of their moſt experienced Captain; to the end, that if by any miſfortune the ſiege did not ſucceed according to the Emperor's expectation, they might not bear the blame alone. They therefore called a council of war, to deliberate what was to be done in order to reduce the place; and of all the different ways that were propoſed, that of reducing it by famine was the moſt approved, and had the Majority of voices: for almoſt all the officers judged that this was the ſureſt way, and the moſt likely to ſucceed. Yet two Princes, tho' they were of the ſame opinion, dared not to attempt it without having firſt acquainted the Emperor. They ſent away couriers to him immediately, to inform him of their deſign. Genghizcan returned them no other anſwer, but only that they muſt fight. So ſoon as Oſtay and Zagatay had learned and made known to the officers the Grand Can's pleaſure, they put all things in a rea-

dinefs blindly to obey his orders, and with more ardour than they had shown, even when the first began the siege; so that it seemed that this Prince's orders had given them new vigour, and illuminated their understandings. The besieged in a short time saw the state of their affairs quite changed. In less than a month all their towers and batteries were thrown down, their engines broke, breaches made in their walls; and they were reduced to retire and defend themselves behind their inward works, which were it truth no less strong than their first.

Yet this change of affairs did not despirit their Governor. He was a man of wit and courage, and inspired the besieged with so great an aversion for the enemies, as being idolaters, that the inhabitants and garrison resolved to suffer the last extremities rather than to yield: so that the Moguls, to please Genghizcan, for four their utmost efforts to take the place, but could not. Gayercan, who expected nothing but death if the town fell into their hands, every day invented new ways to prolong the siege; yet he had by this time lost the best part of his troops and there was no likelihood that it could hold out much longer. Cariacas was so sensible of it, that he several times pressed him to capitulate, to save their own lives, and those of the other Mahometans, who yet remained in the city: but Gayercan was not ignorant that whatever treaty he could make, the enemies would not observe it in what related to himself, and so refused to yield, resolving to hold it out to his last breath. Caraicas, whom no reasons obliged to abandon himself to despair, would not consent to quit his hopes of saving his life; and therefore secretly represented to the officers who were under his command, that the Governor being desperate, sought nothing more than to perish himself, and to sacrifice all the garrison and people along with him; that it was best for them to find some way to get out of the city, whose ruin was inevitable; and that it was madness to strive to defend it any longer; that they would do a commendable action in preserving their troops, to go and succour their Prince and country in some other place, instead of losing them with Gayercan, who was guided only by his despair; that they need not fear any per-

son would accuse them of cowardise, since the courage with which they had defended the place till now was sufficient to set them above the like reproaches.

All the friends of Cariacas approved his proposition; and the time was fixed upon when they should go out of the city, and it was agreed they should all repair to that quarter where the gate of Dervazey Soufy was which was in the power of the officers of Cariacas. Accordingly they went out at this gate in the night, having sent advice of their coming to the Mogul Generals, who had them conducted to their camp. But they were not received there as they expected: the Princes, after having questioned them concerning the state of the city, refused them the passport they desired, and told them, that the Moguls had so great an aversion for people who were false to their Prince, that they punished them wherever they met with them. Cariacas endeavoured to justify, but his reasons were not heard, and he was put to death on the spot, as well as all the other Carizmean officers. They likewise put some soldiers to death, and all the rest were made slaves.

This desertion did not intimidate the besieged; they fought with the same bravery as before. Even Gayerzan improved this opportunity to animate his soldiers, and went about to make a speech to them on this subject; but they made him sensible he had no need to excite them to do their duty, that he should find they were all disposed to die like brave men, and not as cowards like their companions; in fine, they all vowed to perish in defence of the city, and to shew themselves faithful to their Religion and Prince.

In the mean time, the Moguls having learned from Cariacas where the weakest part of the town was, made so good advantage of his information, that after having given a fierce assault, and made a considerable breach, they briskly entered thro' it into the city, and put abundance of the people to the sword; yet it was some time before they could get to be masters of the city; for there yet remained twenty thousand men with the Governor, and they had fortified every place they could, having cast up intrenchments in all the narrow streets, which gave the besiegers more trou-

ble than the castle itself, tho' it was very well fortified: besides this, Gayercan kept the grofs of the troops in a stronghold, from whence he could send them to the places where was most need. Nothing was more brisk than the besieger's attacks, nor more obstinate than the resistance of the besieged. During a whole month they fought on both sides with an undaunted bravery. At last the castle was carried; but the narrow places that were fortified held out longer, in which fifty men were able to sustain an attack against a much greater number of assailants, whose being so numerous did not avail them, but exposed them to the arrows of the besieged, by which they daily lost a great many people. The city became full of dead bodies. The houses were beaten down in such a manner that every one strove to hide himself in the ruins, to fight under covert, which still retarded the taking of Otrar.

Genghizcan, to whom the Princes daily sent couriers to inform him of what past, amazed at their making so long a defence, forbid his soldiers killing Gayercan, that he might have the punishing of him himself; for he did not think so wicked a man merited so honorable a death as to die in fight. This order cost a great many Moguls their lives; for being commanded to spare the Governor, they were obliged to pick out those they would aim to kill: whereas the Carizmeans having nothing to take care of, killed a great many more of the enemies than they lost of their own people. The besiegers however still bringing up fresh troops to relieve those who were tired, at length found an end of their enemies, and numbers carried the day. Gayercan remained with two men only, yet would not think himself conquered; but like dying person, who exerts all the strength he has left to struggle with death, he took fresh courage: and returning up to a terrass-walk belonging to his palace, with his two companions, whom the same fury animated, from thence rolled down great stones upon the Moguls who came near, and they tumbling down upon their comrades who followed them, dragged them down with them. At last Gayercan, after having killed a great number of his enemies, lost his two companions, and remained alone against the Moguls, who having at

length surrounded him, seized him, * loaded him with chains, and carried him to the Princes, who found as much constancy of soul in him then, as he had shown courage before. They sent him under a strong guard to the Grand Can, to dispose of him as he pleased. The Emperor after having reproached him as the cause of so many misfortunes to his countrymen, caused him to be put to death at Samarcande in the palace of Gheuc-Serai.

† The siege of Otrar had lasted five months. They razed the castle, but they rebuilt the city walls; and then they permitted the old men, women, and children, who had been turned by Gayercan, to return into it with the country people who had retired from the city. And it was forbid under severe penalties, to the garrison which was left there, any ways to disquiet or molest the inhabitants. After the Princes Ostay and Zagatay had established such orders as they thought fit in the country of Farab, they sent away twenty thousand men to their brother Touschican, as the Emperor had commanded. After which they past the Jaxartes to enter into Transoxiana, and joined themselves and forces to the imperial army.

* Cum autem occisi essent duo ipsius-Socii, ipse solus manans pugnavit lateribus quos illi puella e parietibus desumptos porrigebant, quas cum amplius accipere non posset circumdederunt ipsum Mogulenses. Abulfatzege.

† Qua in expugnanda quinque mansum spatium infuserunt.



C H A P. XIX.

THE SIEGES OF THE CITIES OF SAGANAC, UZKEND, ALSCHASCHE, FENAKET OR TONCAT, BY TOUNSCHICAN.

DURING the siege of Otrar, Genghizcan got information after what manner the King of Carizme had disposed his forces : and now knew, that besides the sixty thousand men he had detached for that city, he had sent five thousand to Junde to strengthen that garrison ; and that the Governor of the country kept ten or twelve thousand men at Saganac and Uzkend ; that there were as many more at Toncat, which some call Fenaket, twenty thousand at Bocara, a hundred thousand at Samarcande, and in the city of Carizme and other places proportionable : the Sultan taking to secure these cities by sending strong garrisons into them. The Grand Can on this information, resolved to besiege the places that were of most importance, and nearest the river Jaxartes, to the end he might leave no place behind him that could give him any trouble when he was gone farther off, and employed in some other siege.

Jaxartes is a river in Tartary, which the orientals, as we have already taken notice called Sihon ; and besides its particular name, it likewise took that of the territories it ran thro' as of the country of Alschasche, and likewise of the country of Cogende, where it was called the river Cogende, and so changed its name in other countries thro' which it pass. It had chiefly two sources, which it sprung from in Mount Imaus, from whence it took its course towards the west, winding by the countries of Fergane, Cogende, Alschasche, Ferab, and some others, to pass into the Caspian sea, where it discharged itself with great violence. This is the river which Alexander the Great, according to Quintus Curtius, believed to be the Tanais, and which he crossed over upon a bridge of boats to go against the Scythians who molested him, being in fear that he would incommode them, by means of the city he had caused to be built on the banks of this river, by him named Alexandria.

Genghizcan having entrusted the management of this expedition to Prince Tounschi, he sent him orders,

so soon as he was informed of the reducing of Otrar, to besiege the cities of Saganac, Junde, and the others of which they must become masters before they could undertake the conquest of Transoxiana. At the same time he sent to him Elac Nevian, a most experienced Captain, to serve him as Lieutenant General, with orders to take with him twenty thousand men of the troops that had been at the siege of Otrar, to the end that Touschi might have two armies, and so be in a condition not to fear any thing.

Touschi began his expedition with the siege of Saganac; and the Emperor having forbid him to use force in those places which he could reduce by fair means, he endeavoured to gain the inhabitants of this city, by persuading them to avoid the miseries that a siege is always attended with. For this purpose he chose an officer, in whom he placed much confidence, and who had been long known to the people of that country, by having had commerce with them in times past. This officer, who was called Hagi Hassan, did not forget to take measures for his own security before he entered this city, and the Governor first gave him his word that he should be kindly received when he was come into the city, he desired that the principal inhabitants should meet together with the Governor, that he might make known to them the purport of his commission, which was granted him; the most considerable persons of the city repaired to the place appointed, followed by a great many of the people.

Hassan first represented to them in pompous terms the greatness of his master Genghizcan, the conquests he had gained, the great advantages they would reap by being his friends, and the dangers they would expose themselves to in drawing his hatred upon them. He likewise assured them of the sweet temper and generosity of Prince Touschy his General, from whom he came to offer them the Emperor's friendship; and assured them they should be treated with all the gentleness imaginable, if they would put the city into his hands.

He had not time to say any more. The proposal of yielding up the city so displeased them all, that they interrupted him. The chief officers whose tem-

pers were naturally haughty, and who did not desire to change their master, rudely stopped his mouth, and caused a great tumult, the people seconding them; nay, even the garrison joined with them, and they said a thousand abusive things to the Prince's Envoy. The disorder was so great, that the unfortunate Hassan was torn to pieces by the enraged populace.

The news of this barbarous action much afflicted Toulchkan, who detested the inhumanity of this people. He excited his soldiers to revenge it, and made them swear that they would never sheath their swords till the city was in their power, and they had punished the traitorous murderers. The siege was undertaken with incredible alacrity. They attacked the city with great fury, and the besieged defended it with equal bravery; and knowing they could not hope for any mercy, they fought as men who were desperate. But notwithstanding their valour and obstinacy the place was taken, and the Moguls plundered it, and killed all the officers and soldiers which garrisoned it; nor did they spare the principal inhabitants, and more than one half of them paid with their blood for Hagi Hassan's murder. The city had been razed to the ground if they had not had occasion to keep it, in order to prosecute the war; and only the necessity of preserving it for their own use, caused them to pardon the rest of the inhabitants. But as a public testimony of respect to the officer's memory, who, contrary to the law of arms, was torn to pieces, Prince Toulchi caused a most magnificent Mausoleum to be erected in the most eminent place in the city, and ordered most pompous funeral rites to be performed according to the custom of the Mahometans, because Hassan made profession of their religion, being of the sect of Schafais. * After which, Toulchi left in Saganac a garrison to awe them, and led his army, laden with the spoils they had gotten there, into the province of Fergane.

He had lost before Saganac abundance of men more than such a place was worth; but he was obliged to revenge Hassan's death. And this punishing these people so severely produced a good effect, because several towns in that country fearing to share the same fate,

* The sect of Schafais was one of the four pretended orthodox sects, by the Mahometans called Sunnis.

took great care not to irritate the conqueror, but yielded without any resistance. Uzquend itself, a place which would for some time have put a stop to the Mogul's conquests, did not think fit to add a trial with them; and the inhabitants opposed the garrison who pretended to defend it, and in spite of the Governor, sent deputies to the Prince, who was then two days' journey from the city, not doubting but their submitting themselves would please him; and in truth things answered their expectation. The Governor finding himself not able to resist all the inhabitants of the city, and the Moguls together, went out of it, and the greatest part of the garrison followed him. They hastened their march, for fear of being seized if they were followed, and they took the road of Tongat, otherwise called Fekaket, whither they retired. Their retreat- ing delivered Uzquend from all the misfortunes of war, because Toulchican had regard to the inhabitants' submission, and received their deputies very favourably. He only took out of the city some provisions and other necessaries for his army, without suffering the least injury to be done them, and promised every soldier that dared to take any thing by force. He would not even suffer his troops to make any long stay in the neighbourhood of Uzquend, out of compassion, but marched directly to Alchalsche, where all those who were willing to show their love to the Sultan joined the garrison. All these people together defended that city so bravely, that it was not taken without a great effusion of blood.

Alchalsche was a very beautiful city, and every house had a garden well watered. It was situate near the river Jaxartes, at four days' journey from the city of Cogende. So soon as Toulchican had reduced it, he marched his army towards Junde, a city situate on the borders of Turquestan, and at a small distance from the river Jaxartes. Several learned men having lived in this place, have rendered it famous. It was out of this city, and some others in this same country, (according to Mirconde's report) that twenty Soythian Ambassadors went to meet Alexander, hearing the fame of his great victories; and reproached him of being too ambitious, praying him if he were a God to shew it

* Uzquend, or Urquend, was situate in the forty-fourth degree of latitude.

by doing good to men, and if but a man, to reflect on the uncertainty of his own condition, instead of proceeding farther with design to rob them of their goods and quiet. The Governor who commanded in Junde at this time was called Cutluc-Can. This city and all the country belonged to him in property; for which reason he bore the title of Can. He inherited this small sovereignty from his father, who had voluntarily submitted to the Sultan of Carizme. He was possessed of great riches, and had promised to make a brave defence if he was attacked; but far from keeping his word, he did but hear the Moguls were coming, and immediately thought of nothing but how to save himself and his treasure. He passed over the river into a desert, and thence retired near as far as the city of Carizme, which the miseries of the war had not yet reached.

Those who stayed in Junde, willing to retrieve the honour of their country, resolved rather to perish than abandon the place without striving to defend it. They made provision of all things necessary to sustain a siege, and put themselves into a condition to oppose their enemies. Tuschican sent a Captain to them, named Gitmur, to promise them all kind of good treatment, if they would open their gates to him. Gitmur obtained a conference, and represented to them, first, the murder committed on the body of Hassan at Saganac, and the cruel revenge it had drawn upon that people; then he proposed to them in a most insinuating manner to submit themselves to the Grand Can, and avoid his displeasure. Some part of the people who heard him, hearkened to his proposals, and consented to receive the Prince into the city; but others, who were the major part, were not of that opinion, and it wanted but little that Gitmur had been treated like Hassan: and he had certainly lost his life, notwithstanding his eloquence and good behaviour, if those people who approved his proposals, had not helped him to make his escape. This officer returned to Tuschican; and after having informed him of the ill success of his negotiation, he gave him an account of the state of the place, as far as he had been able to discover. He had observed the strength of the walls and towers of Junde in such a manner,

that he judged it would cost a great deal of time to take the place by force, and that they should lose abundance of men. He therefore proposed to Prince Toutschi this stratagem, to cause bridges to be laid over part of the ditch, which was full of water, saying that he might more easily scale the walls at that part of the ditch where the enemies thought themselves most secure. He shewed to him the places he thought most proper for the execution of this enterprize, and assured him they should surprize the besieged as they desired. The Prince did not altogether disapprove the Captain's notions, but having prepared a store of engines and machines of all sorts for a storm, he wished he could have made some use of them: for this reason he offered many objections to Gilmur's proposal; to all which he answered so fully, that at last Toutschi yielded to agree to whatever should be resolved in a council of war, which was held that same day. Every one spoke his opinion on this occasion, and Gilmur communicated his design; but the Lieutenant General of the army having another in his head, spoke against the Captain's, rejected the thought of rendering themselves masters of the town by surprize, when they could have it a nobler way, and endeavoured to persuade them that it was easy to take it by open force. But notwithstanding the reasons he alledged to support his opinion, all the council better liked the stratagem which Gilmur proposed; and it was resolved that to amuse the besieged, three false attacks should be made, and all the engines set a playing on that side of the town which he thought the weakest, and that they should seem to abandon that which was best fortified. Thus they hoped that these attacks would draw all the forces in the town to that side, and during that time they might without being molested scale the walls on the other. They agreed upon the time and manner, and named the troops that should be employed in executing this enterprize, and the battalions that should support them: In fine, it was determined that so soon as the bridges were laid, they should fasten on the wall two ladders of light wood to begin the scalado, and a certain number of soldiers mount the walls to fasten more ladders.

Gitmur, who was a good engineer, built the bridges himself as he thought fit; and when all things were ready, they began the attacks a little before night with great shouts, and the sound of timbrels, drums, and other warlike instrument. Whilst the Mogul engineers caused the great engineer to be brought up against the city, their soldiers killed with their slings, or drove from the walls the besieged who appeared on them to hinder their approaches. So soon as the battering rams and the other engines began to play, all the garrison ran to the attack, and abandoned their other posts. Gitmur on his side so soon as it was night caused his bridges to be laid cross the ditch with all diligence, and the men he had chosen to scale the walls, passed over and raised the two ladders, one of which he immediately mounted himself to animate his soldiers, who following, soon fastened so great a number of ladders, that the troops entered the town, and advancing to the gate they designed to secure, seized the centinel and soldiers who guarded it; and making themselves masters of it with little noise, opened it, and let in several troops of the Moguls, who took possession of the principal places. The besieged were no sooner informed that one of the gates was surprized, but they were seized with fear, and abandoned the care of the places attacked, every one thinking of nothing but where to hide himself.

Thus was the city of Junde taken without any loss on either side; for the Moguls meeting with no resistance, did not destroy any body: which was very extraordinary in such a conjuncture. They spared the inhabitants, because they had not killed the Moguls; and they put but two or three to death, who had abused Gitmur in the conference he had had with the people. But if they put not the people to the sword, in return they plundered them of all their goods. They commanded them on pain of death to leave the city, and to retire to a neighbouring plain. They obeyed this order with much haste; men and women, old and young, all ran to the place. The masters and slaves stood undistinguished together, waiting what their enemies should do with them; imagining they had drove them out of the city with no other design than to massacre them all together with more cruelty. But there

was no harm done them, only commissaries were ordered to take an account of the number of the citizens. After which, they left a strong garrison in the city, and permitted the inhabitants to return to their houses, where they found what the Moguls had left them, which was only what they could not carry. A Mogul officer, named Alicoja, who was a Mahometan, was made Governor of the place.

Touschican, after the reduction of this place, divided his army into two bodies, giving fifty thousand men to Elac Nevian, to go and subdue the countries of Ilac, Alschasche, and Cogende; and he ordered the rest of the troops to keep the open country, and facilitate the taking of Cogende, which he had received orders to besiege by the said Lieutenant-General. Elac Nevian being provided of all things of which he stood in need to perform this expedition, marched into Ilac; and to justify the prudence of the Emperor his master in the choice he had made of him, he resolved to use all the prudence and skill he was capable of. As an earnest of which, he first marched his army with such speed, that the people of Ilac and Alschasche believed them far off from their country, when they were surprized with hearing they were arrived in it: on which they surrendered many places to them without fighting, which might have made some resistance, and retarded the siege of Cogende.

Toncat, which Abulcair calls Daralyln, * was the most considerable town of all those which the General Elac Nevian took before he went to Cogende; therefore he was forced to besiege it to make it surrender. It was situate in forty-three degrees of latitude, and was dependent on Alschasche. It served to secure the frontiers or the province of Ilac, and was a rendezvous for the merchants of these two countries who trafficked chiefly in this place. The Mogul officer judging that this town could furnish Cogende with great succours in case he neglected to take it, and that on the contrary it would be of great service for his own army if he took it, and laid stores in it, resolved to besiege it in form, if he could not reduce it any other way. This city was rather a place of pleasure than strength.

* That is to say, the place of the sciences, because of the academy of arts and sciences that was founded there.

The purling brooks watered almost every street. The suburbs and country-seats were all well supplied with water; and an infinite number of gardens full of fruit-trees rendered it a charming place to reside in. It was full of murmuring fountains, all environed with many the most delightful walks in the world. In fine, it was a common saying, that God never made a more delicious dwelling than that city. Its situation near a river, its walls and castle, had always defended it against the Turquestan rovers and bands. Its inhabitants were not frightened at the Moguls approach. The Bey who governed it was so bold as to refuse to surrender it on their summons. He was called Ilenco-Melic, and was the natural Lord of the place. The garrison was composed of Turks, natives of the country, called Cangouli, a people who had the reputation of being very brave.

The Governor put great confidence in them, and answered fiercely when the Moguls summoned him to open the gates; but upon the first attack he retired into the castle with the chief of the inhabitants. Elac Nevian caused the engines to be got ready, and gave many assaults to the city. The besieged vigorously resisted for three days; but the fourth maugre their opposition, he made a breach in the walls: at which the inhabitants were so affrighted, fearing to be forced, that they desired leave to capitulate, and did all they could to obtain honorable terms. But the Mogul General rejected all their proposals, and obliged them to surrender at discretion.

When the Moguls saw themselves masters of this place, they made all the inhabitants go out of it, that they might with more ease plunder their houses. And the General Elac Nevian thinking he had reason to be displeased with the garrison, put them to the sword. As for Ilenco Melic, he had not the same fate; for he found means to escape before the castle surrendered. The Moguls, after having built a considerable magazine for warlike stores there, marched towards the country of Cogende, which was a part of Fergane, or at least bordered upon it.

* The Can to whom the city of Cogende belonged, well discerned that Elac Nevian had not undertaken

* Genghizcan was at this time about sixty years old.

the siege of Toucat, but in order to come to him with more advantage, stood upon his guard. He had ordered to be brought into Cogende all sorts of stores, both of ammunition and food. And so soon as he had advice that the Moguls were marching that way, he caused the bridges to be broken down with all speed, the roads every where to be spoiled, and all the corn, fruits, and cattle in the countries adjacent to be carried away, with design to take from the enemies all means of subsistence, and to put them at least to a great deal of trouble, if he was not able to prevent their besieging him. All the inhabitants of the open towns and villages, upon the report of the Moguls arrival, abandoned their houses, and sought where to secure themselves. Those who could get into Cogender took refuge there, as being the capital of that province, and the only place that was capable of making any defence. They carried into it all sorts of provisions, so that there wanted nothing necessary either for fighting, or maintaining those who were shut up in the place.

As the Moguls were now at the siege of Toucat, they sent a great number of men to the siege of Cogender, and to the siege of the other towns. The Moguls were now at the siege of Toucat, and they sent a great number of men to the siege of Cogender, and to the siege of the other towns. The Moguls were now at the siege of Toucat, and they sent a great number of men to the siege of Cogender, and to the siege of the other towns.

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CHAP. XX.

THE SIEGE OF COGENDE, AND THE HISTORY OF TIMUR MELIC.

THE city of Cogende was situate in about forty one degrees and twenty-five minutes of latitude. It was large and well fortified. It extended itself along the banks of the river *Jamart*, in a fertile and beautiful country, which rendered its situation exceeding pleasant. Besides, it was within seven days journey of Samarcande, and had the advantage of trading in musk and other odorous things. The fine gardens, excellence of the fruits, and particularly the bravery of its inhabitants, made it a place highly esteemed. It had for its Sovereign Prince Timur Melic who was a *Can* that paid tribute to the Sultan of Carizme, with whom he lived in perfect amity. Tonschican kept at some distance with his army, to hinder the garrisons of several places from getting together to disturb Elac Nevian, to whom it was besides necessary to leave all the provisions that remained in the country of Cogende, this General having but few magazines there to subsist his army. So soon as the Moguls were come before Cogende they fortified their camp on that side the river where they encamped, and began to get ready all their engines. Elac Nevian knew very well that this place was hard to be taken, and had got information what kind of man Timur Melic was. In truth, this Prince was not to be ranked with common Captains; he naturally loved war, and had often given instances of it among his neighbours. He had several times commanded the Sultan's armies, and had acquired a very great reputation.

† He was perfectly skilled in the military art, and had all the qualifications of a complete General. He was just, liberal, familiar and severe enough to make his soldiers fear and obey him. All these

* *Alfavar* in *Abulfeda*, says, in forty-one degrees twenty five minutes *Ulugbeg* places it in forty-one degrees fifty-five minutes; *Albironi* in forty degrees fifty minutes.

† His valour was so extraordinary, that *Rustan*, *Sau*, and *Asfendar* had blushed before him. *Mirconde*.

good qualities, supported with a dauntless courage in all dangers, have caused the best eastern historians to make mention of this Prince with great respect. They compare his valour to that of the Rustans, the Asfendiares, and the Sams, who were the antient heroes of the Turks and Persians. In reality, he well deserved to be ranked as a competitor with all these great men.

So soon as he was besieged, he applied himself seriously to assign proper employments to all those who were shut up with him in this city: he let none be idle. He ordered the engines to be placed where they were most useful. He caused twelve barks with oars to be built, to serve them against the besiegers, and afterwards made many more. He appointed the places where each officer should post himself, proposed rewards to the soldiers, and decreed punishments for those who failed of doing their duty. The Mogul General on his side, before he began the attacks, harangued his army. He promised to his officers and common soldiers to give a faithful account to the Grand Can of all the brave actions they should perform. And when he had thus animated them with his eloquence, he ordered them to build a bridge of communication a little below the city, which they executed with success by the assistance of their engines, notwithstanding all the efforts of their enemies to oppose them. Then having divided his army into two bodies, he sent the weakest beyond the river under the command of his Lieutenant, and retained the best troops to make vigorous attacks. And altho' historians do not relate all the brave actions performed during this siege, no doubt but on both sides exploits were done worthy to be eternally remembered. They say that Elac exposed himself to a thousand dangers to render his attempts successful; that he caused whole millstones to be shot against the city; that the battering rams shook the walls whilst he was present; and that he himself fought sometimes only to animate his soldiers.

As for Timur Melic, we cannot relate all he did either to burn or break the Moguls engines, assisted by his people and brigantines. * He sent six of his

* They call these brigantines in the Arabian tongue, *Querond*. *Fadlallah*.

barks on each side of the river. They were full of soldiers who fought desperately, and shot into the Moguls camp so great a quantity of stones, darts and arrows, that they killed and wounded abundance of men. This successful way of fighting augmented their courage; and the besiegers not being able to encompass the city by reason of a large morass which hindered them, there came by that means from time to time small supplies of men into the city; so that Timur Melic flattered himself that he should be able at last to weary out the Moguls: but there arrived in their camp fresh troops sent by Prince Toulchan. Elac redoubled his assaults, and so fatigued the garrison, that they despaired of resisting him much longer. Yet Timur Melic had recourse to a stratagem which much retarded the taking of Cogende. He had caused to be built some time before a kind of fortress well fortified at the farther end of the city, in a little island that was very difficult of access. This citadel was not built to keep the inhabitants in awe, the Prince being too well assured of their fidelity to fear any thing from them; and therefore to take away all suspicions of that nature from them, he had left in the city an eminence which commanded this fort. He had built it only to secure the town from the irruptions strangers might make into it by this way, which lay open and exposed, because the river grew very wide in this place. He put into this fort a thousand chosen men, and then sent to the enemies camp men in whom he confided. These men pretended to be deserters, complaining they had been ill used, and were fled to them for succour. They acquitted themselves of their commission very dexterously, and the Moguls failed not to question them about the state of the city. They pretended a great unwillingness to answer them, but being pressed, at length seeming unable to resist any longer their importunities, they declared they needed only attack that fort, because so soon as that was taken, the city must surrender. The reasons they gave for this advice had first been concerted with Timur Melic.

In the mean while Timur Melic, to give more credit to the intelligence these deserters had given him

enemies, made his troops appear very easy. Elac suffered himself to be deceived, and disposed all things to attack the fort. He found it to be very strongly built, and extreme high. The Moguls made use of their machines, and battered it with all the vigour imaginable for several days; but the stones and other materials, of which they had got together a great quantity, beginning to fail, and the difficulty of getting more being very great, much hindered them, they being obliged to go above three leagues from their camp to seek for them. All the infantry was commanded out on this occasion, and in truth they brought back with them a vast quantity. New attempts were made to take the fort; but the besiegers being at too great a distance from the walls, by reason of the river running between, they could not throw them down, and were therefore obliged to cast up a bank to approach nearer it. The greatest part of the army was employed in this work, which was extremely laborious, because of the holes they met with in the bottom of the river, which they were obliged to fill up. The foot-soldiers brought the stones to the brink of the water, and the horse went and threw them in amongst the earth, and whole trees tied together, as they did likewise the fascines and other things of which they made use to finish this work, and render it firm. Besides the difficulty of this undertaking, they had the vexation of being continually interrupted by the besieged, who often with their engines, and sometimes by the sallies they made in their armed brigantines, threw down the bank, and destroyed all they had done. Yet notwithstanding all the efforts of these brave men who defended this fortress, the work was accomplished; and Timur Melic now seeing himself upon the point of being forced to yield, thought no more of any thing but how to execute the design he had long formed in his own mind, in order to secure his retreat; and to save his own family at least.

He had at the beginning of the siege only twelve brigantines; but having found how useful they were to him, he had caused more to be built, even to the number of seventy, without mentioning his design to any body. He gave orders that the brigantines should be all brought to the most private part of the

shore, under cover of the city, where he had them plastered over with a certain composition which was made of wet felt kneaded with clay and vinegar; and the nature of this composition was such, that neither the arrows nor fire could hurt these vessels. In the time this was doing, and he was disposing all things for his retreat, considering that the bridge of communication, of which we have made mention, was an obstacle in his way, because the enemies might send over it as many of their cavalry as they pleased to pursue him by going on the other side, and prevent his landing where he designed, he resolved to attack and destroy it. This design was not at that time difficult to execute, because the Mogul General had caused to return to his camp the most part of the troops that had pass over to the other side the river, and was busied about taking the fort; so that the bridge was left with but few men to guard it.

One night Timur Melic caused a sally to be made. The commanding officer, as had been before agreed, attacked those who kept the bridge, upon a signal given him that some brigantines full of tar and naphta were got near the pontons of which the bridge was made, and going to set fire to them. The brigantines produced the desired effect without opposition, and the greatest part of the bridge was burned. This was done the same night that Timur Melic left the city. He loaded his brigantines with every thing he had most valuable, putting aboard all his particular friends, and the bravest of his warriors who were willing to share his fortune, with store of all sorts of provisions and arms both offensive and defensive, to incommode the Moguls, by whom he expected to be pursued; in fine, he embarked himself, and ordered the Admiral who had charge of this little fleet, to let it drive along with the stream, and to make all the speed that was possible.

But notwithstanding all the precaution Timur Melic used to conceal his flight from Elac Nevian's knowledge, this Mogul officer was soon informed of it, and immediately sent a great body of horse after him with orders to pursue him closely, to attack him under shore, and take him a prisoner. And tho' the swift current favoured the rowers, and the fleet was

got a great way off from Cogende before the Moguls could overtake it, yet they came up with them, notwithstanding the diligence used to escape them, and in spite of the turnings and windings that the rocks, which often obstructed their way on the shore, obliged them to make. So soon as they were within reach of them, they hurled a vast quantity of darts, arrows, and fire at the barks of those of Cogende; but the brigantines, which were proof against these attacks, received no damage. In the mean time Timur Melic, not being able to bridle his own courage, nor the valour of those that belonged to him, shot out of the windows of the ships a great many darts and arrows against the Moguls, of whom they killed many. They fought in this manner some days, and one may reasonably imagine that Timur lost also a great many of his people; for besides that he could not hinder the arrows from entering the brigantines by the windows, they were often obliged to quit the shelter of the decks, and expose themselves to repulse those of the Moguls, who ventured still more by advancing against them into the water.

Altho' the inhabitants of Cogende, animated by their Prince's example, suffered not themselves to be surprized either by night or day, yet their enemies gave them no rest, but followed them so closely, that they scarce ever lost sight of them. The bloodiest disputes were when some rocks or banks of sand which were on the north side (for the river ran from east to west) obliged the fleet to approach near the shore on the south side. 'Twas in these rencounters that Timur Melic shewed himself a prodigy of valour. He was foremost in all dangers, and seen in every place where the fight was hottest, and came generally off victorious from these skirmishes. There was, amongst the rest, a furious combat in a certain flat, or shallow place, where the river being fordable, gave leave to the greatest part of the horsemen to approach the brigantines nearer than they used to do. Timur had his ships ranged in the manner he used, gave his orders to the Admiral, who communicated them to the pilots, officers and soldiers; and then without waiting for the Moguls coming to them, he went himself to attack them. There were soon seen floating on the water a great number of dead men and horses; and after a

rough attack, the Moguls were constrained to make a shameful retreat. Timur Melic, lost in this fight many of his best officers and soldiers.

Being obliged to pass before the city of Toncat, which was in the possession of his enemies, he expected to meet with greater obstacles. And in truth, had the Moguls reflected at first that he must of necessity pass by that place, they might easily have overthrown and sunk his fleet. But they thought not of it till it was too late; their courier did not arrive at Toncat till a very little while before Timur Melic's fleet, and they had not time to do more than fasten a chain cross the river. The Prince would not pass but in the night before Toncat, to the end that he might conceal as much as possible from his enemies the condition his little shattered fleet was in, and to be the less incommoded. Nevertheless, the chain stopped at once all the brigantines, and gave time to the garrison of the city to join on the banks of the river Jaxartes the troops that pursued Timur. This Prince had fortunately foreseen this difficulty before he left Cogende, and made provision of excellent hatchets and files; he distributed them amongst his people, who, tho' they stood as a mark exposed to a great number of archers who shot at them, began to cut the chain, and accomplished it. It is true, Timur supported them the while, killing a great many of the Moguls with his arrows; but he got off with great loss of those that accompanied him. And the chain being cut, the brigantines passed thro' and continued their way.

They Moguls, tho' enraged for not having been able as yet to take Timur Melic, were not discouraged, but pursued him with more vigour than before. They were now joined by a fresh body of troops, which Prince Toulchican, who was not far off from thence, sent to cut off all means of Timur's retreating, which he had had an account of. The Moguls with this reinforcement began afresh to harass those of Cogende, who far from appearing dismayed, seemed to fight with more ardour. Timur himself, weary of being shut up in the brigantines, resolved to go forth to give vent to his courage, and die in the midst of his enemies. For this he found a favourable opportunity.

city; a rock obliged the enemies to go about, and drew them a little farther than they used to be off from the banks of the river southward. This Prince took this opportunity to get ashore with the few fighting men he had left; and not doubting but the Moguls would all come and fall upon him, he hoped that whilst they were fighting with him, the brigantines would escape, and might be able to carry his family to some place of safety.

He then went forth of the brigantines with his little band, taking with them provisions for some days. They reached to a place very well situate, on a rising ground, from whence rushing down furiously upon their enemies, who did not expect such a descent to be made upon them, they killed a great number of the Moguls. The Moguls not doubting but the people who charged them with so much fury, were headed by the brave Prince whom they pursued, laid aside all thoughts of the brigantines, and applied themselves to get at him. They quitted their horses for this purpose; but they found the way to the place he was upon so steep on the side they were of, that they could not get up. And whilst they searched for the paths by which the Prince had got up, with his band into so advantageous a post, just as they were ready to surprize Timur and his Band by coming behind them, the night gave him and them opportunity to retire farther into a place still more difficult to find. They left not off to seek him from rock to rock, and to continue their hopes of taking him; altho' he, by knowing the country better than they, always escaped them, even when they most flattered themselves that he was going to fall into their hands.

Whilst the greatest part of the Moguls were employed in pursuing Timur Melic, the rest, more greedy of the booty than honour, followed the brigantines, thinking to enrich themselves by the taking of them; but they lost their labour, for the fleet got safe into a port belonging to the Sultan of Carizme, where all Timur Melic's family were received with much joy, and where they lived without any other disquiet than the trouble of not knowing what was become of that brave Prince.

And indeed their concern for him was not without reason; for he had to do with enemies who were obstinately bent to pursue and take him. And tho' he had happily escaped their hands all this while, and had continually killed all who attempted to get up to him, and came within his reach, yet he every day lost some of his companions; so that at last they all perished, and he remained alone, and could no longer hope to defend himself against so many enemies: yet one night he found means to escape from them. He saw but three persons who followed him; these three Moguls seeing themselves alone, and pursuing a man whose valour they so well knew, did not dare to make up to him, but were cautious how they attacked him, which was a great advantage to him; for it gave him time to get to a little wood, where stopping for a few moments to take breath, he drew three arrows out of his quiver, which were all that he had left, one of which had no head. This he shot at one of the Moguls who was the foremost of the three; it struck him in the face, and the arrow went into his eye, and disabled him for fighting. He who was wounded was the bravest of the three. The two others appeared much surprized at this fight, which Timur Melic perceiving, proposed to parly with them. He offered them some pieces of gold, on condition they would cease to follow him. The Moguls accepted his offer, and taking what care they could of their wounded companion, returned back to their troop.

Timur Melic in this manner escaped from his enemy's hands, and easily got to a city of Carizme called Quent, where he was received with the acclamations of all the people, who had already been informed of the great dangers he had been exposed to. They loaded him with praises and blessings. His family came soon after to him with such joy and transport as may be much better conceived in imagination than expressed in words. His conduct and valour were admired not only by all his friends, but even by his enemies. Sultan Mehomed having learned that he was at Quent, sent to congratulate him on his safe arrival, and desired him, by letters full of esteem and friendship, to accept of the Government of that city, the Governor of which had been killed. Timur com-

oppressed with his Sovereign's desire; and when the Moguls carried the war into Turizme, he gave fresh proofs of his courage, and resisted them so long, till at last despairing of seeing Mehomed's affairs re-established, he retired into Persia where the Sultan himself was at that time. Sometime after he disguised himself, taking the habit of a religious Sophy, and retired to the borders of Syria, where he lived privately till the Moguls had established themselves masters of Persia and Tartary. Then returning into Persia, he made himself known to the Prince who then reigned, to whom he took an oath of fidelity, and was by him permitted to retire into his own country of Cogende.

When he was arrived there, he enquired after his children whom he left at his departure for Syria. He found but one alive, whom an old servant of his family discovered, and whom he himself knew to be his child by a mark he had upon his body. Batucan, King of Capschac, the grandson of Genghizcan, permitted this son of Timur Melic to make enquiry after his father's estate, and to enjoy it. Timur assisted him to recover it; but several Moguls having got possession of it, it was not very easy to make them restore it: yet he did at last compass it, by which he made all those his enemies who had usurped any part of his right and fortune. These men found out the man whom he had wounded in the eye with the arrow, and excited him to take revenge on him. And 'tis remarkable after what manner this Mogul accomplished his design; one day Timur Melic talking with a Prince of the blood who did not love fighting and wars, he asked Timur with a scornful air what were the great actions he had done. Timur shocked at the contempt this Prince treated him with, answered fiercely; Prince, the Earth and Seas have seen what I have done, the Heavens and Stars are witnesses of my valour, and the world does undervalue it. These words which Timur spoke, proceeded not from vanity but anger, which cost him his life; for the Mogul whom he had wounded being present, and pretending to be displeased with his answer to this Prince, which he said was not respectful enough, shot an arrow, and killed the generous Timur Melic.

The oriental writers have been too brief in not relating all the particulars of what happened in the city of

Cogende, after this heroic retreat from it. The
 letters they had for him did doubtless engage them to
 relate his adventures only, and neglect all the rest.
 They do not so much as tell us what sort of people
 they were who inhabited the country of Cogende.
 They only say that the city surrendered the next day
 after Timur's departure; and that Elac Nersian, after
 having settled all things, went to rejoin Genghis in
 Transoxiana.



CHAP. XXI.

GENGHIZCAN'S EXPEDITION INTO TRANSOXIANA: THE
TAKING OF THE CITIES OF ZARNUC AND OF NUR.

IT is said in the preceding chapters that the Mogul Emperor took the road to Bechara and Samarcande, the capitals of two great provinces situate between the rivers Jaxartes and Oxus, countries which were very pleasant, fertile, and full of towns and cities; yet there were some little desarts. This land was inhabited partly by the famous Scythians, whom Justin mentions, and partly by the Bactrians, whom Ptolemy, Strian, and others speak of. It is called Zagatai by the moderns, Mauarannahar by the Arabs, and is now what the Turks and Persians call the country of the Uzbeks.

It is at present divided into three or four petty monarchies, who have each an independent Prince of their own; and heretofore it was divided into many more. These petty Sovereigns are descended from the Mogul Princes of Capschac, of whom Toutschi, the eldest son of Genghizcan, was the first and chief. The first of the Uzbeks who went out of Capschac to establish himself in Transoxiana, was Schaibec, who made an irruption into it about A. D. 1498. Heg. 904, and drove out those that remained of the posterity of Tamerlain, who died A. D. 1404. Heg. 804. These people were called Ketchebasch, because they used to wear on their heads caps made of felt; and their soldiers were called Yeschilbasch, that is to say, green-heads, because they wore a green picked cap. Their horses are very lean, but extremely swift. Their arms are great long bows and arrows, darts, swords, small bucklers, and coats of mail. The most part of them have thick arms and legs, with very disagreeable faces. They speak in the nose like the Chinese, but they love polite breeding, and willingly apply themselves to the sciences and liberal arts. Their merchants trade chiefly in the higher Tartary,

* Otherwise called Schem and Gihon.

* Felt Head.

Muscovy, and the Indies. They carry thither silks, and a great deal of manna, which they call Scherkeft, which signifies the milk of a tree, because this drug is white. 'Tis a dew that falls on the trees, and dropping from their branches, they reduce it into small grains, which the people put up into glasses for sale. They also sell sturgeon's eggs, and salted fish.

Genghizcan having reserved to himself the conquest of the most important places in this country, and above all, of Bocara, Samarcande, Nur, and Zarnuc, caused his army first to march towards So-diana and the river Oxas; and pass thro' several provinces in his way thither. The first city, before which this Emperor stopped was Zarnuc. He sent, as was his custom, one of his Captains to the inhabitants of the city, to offer them all kind of security and good treatment, if they would submit to the conditions he proposed to them; that is to say, to demolish their castle, and send into his camp all their young men who could bear arms, to serve him in his expedition. The Captain, whose name was Danischemende Hadgib, spoke to the inhabitants in the most persuasive terms imaginable; insomuch, that the principal persons amongst them were willing to surrender, but the common people and garrison opposed it: so that the Grand Can was obliged to make his troops come up and ravage the countries round about this city. Then the people who were before willing to accept this Prince's proposals, sent a magistrate to assure him of their readiness to submit to him, and offered to come to him; but the Emperor judged it better to let these people remain in the city, believing they might engage the rest to submit to him: and indeed in a little while the garrison and the rest of the people who were retired into the castle, resolving to defend it, as they pretended, to the last extremity, suffered themselves to be overcome by the persuasions of the chief of the inhabitants. † So they entered into a treaty with the Grand Can, who was contented only to demolish their castle, and bring into his camp the soldiers and young men of the city.

* *Danischemende's* speech is related at length in *Tadallak*.

† Genghizcan, after he had reduced this city, gave it the name of *Chulova-Bek*. *Tadallak*.

After which he continued his march towards the city of Nur, situate between Bocara and Samarcande. The name of Nur which signifies light, was given to this city, because it enclosed several places whose pretended holiness drew from all parts a great concourse of people. * The gates were immediately shut against the Moguls, the people flattering themselves that the Sultan would send them succours, as he had given them hopes he would; but the Governor, either thro' cowardise, or because he believed Mehommed not in a condition to assist them, or that he was corrupted by the Moguls, advised the inhabitants to make no defence; and made them consent to do whatever he pleased; upon which he desired the Grand Can to send a General Officer with the conditions he would grant in case Nur would surrender. Suida Bobadeur was sent; the Governor presented him with the keys, and put him in possession of the place. Suida demanded nothing but some corn and other necessaries for the Emperor's troops, which the inhabitants carried into his camp in so great abundance, that there was enough to feed the army even to the frontiers of the country dependant on Bocara. Besides which, they obliged themselves to pay to the Grand Can annually the sum of fifteen hundred crowns of gold, which they usually paid to the Sultan. This sum they advanced to him for the first year. †

The impatient desire Genghizcan had to get to Bocara, made him very indulgent to the people of those towns which he met with in his way; and what caused so earnest a desire in him to get thither, was because this place was the centre or heart of the Sultan's dominions, and he knew that that Prince was retired thither with the greatest part of his riches, and therefore he made all the haste he could, hoping to surprize him. But he was deceived for Mehommed staid not for him, but having left twenty thousand men to defend the place, departed, taking with him all that

* A Turcoman and native of Zarnuc, guided the army by a by-road to Nur; and this way has been ever since called the Grand-Can's route. *Ibid.*

† He asked them what the Sultan's revenue which he drew from this city amounted to. They told him 1500 crowns or diners; he made them pay them down. And thus they avoided being killed and plundered. *Fadiallah.*

he had most precious, and went secretly to Samarsande, under pretence of putting some other affairs in order; but in truth it was only to seek for a securer retreat to save himself.

Some counterfeit letters which fell into his hands contributed very much to his flight, being thereby informed that his best officers would quit his service; and other letters writ to the same purpose being dropt amongst his troops caused much disorder. All these letters were writ by one of his officers named Bedredin, who, to be revenged of the Sultan for putting his father, uncle, and brothers to death, sent these letters to him from Genghizcan's Court, whither he was retired. The Emperor permitted him to make use of this artifice, after having got intelligence that there was a misunderstanding between the Sultan and the Queen his mother, and that several Captains had left him to follow that Prince's Genghizcan himself offered his assistance to this Queen, and a settlement in Corasana, or in any other country of his dominions which she pleased to make choice of; but she would not trust to the promises of a Prince whom she thought an idolater. Mean while the Moguls encamped in the plain of Bocara, where they had continued all the rest of the winter of the year 1219.



BOOK CHAP. XXII.

THE SIEGE OF BOCARA.

THE city of Bocara was situate in thirty-nine degrees and some minutes of latitude, a day's journey north of the river Oxus. It was an antient city in Transoxiana, and there were few more pleasant in the east; and being advantageously situated for trade, it drew to it the merchants of all the nations in Asia. The country which belonged to it reached from Oxus even to the province of Samarcande, which the antients called Sogdiana, and was the boundary of that province on the north side.

Besides the walls of the city which were very strong, it had another wall without, which was twelve leagues in compass, and shut in not only the suburbs, but also many pleasant seats, and a great number of fine farms, watered by the little river Sogde, which sprung from a mountain called Botom, situate in the country of Fregane, nine leagues from Bocara. We may easily imagine the antient Sogdiana took its name from this river.

In the month of March 1220, the Moguls forced this outer wall, and approached the city. The Yulgues and the Chinese were then in the year which they call the Serpent. It is the custom of the Tartars to give to their years the names of animals, and their priests from their predictions according to the nature and qualities of these animals: we must also observe that an age with them is composed but of twelve years. The Grand Can, accompanied with Prince Tuli, encamped his army before this place, causing it to be invested on all sides; and then he destroyed the suburbs, and began to besiege it in form.

The inhabitants of Bocara found themselves in a strange consternation, when from their walls they beheld the prodigious number of troops that surrounded them, and that Genghizcan commanded them in person. Some were of opinion, desirous to save their lives and fortunes, that it was best to submit to the enemy: but the others bravely consulting their honour and faith to their Prince and country, thought

of nothing else but how to make a vigorous defence; and these persuaded themselves that the place being in a good condition, full of all sorts of provisions, and defended by twenty thousand men, all experienced troops, not to mention a much greater number of the inhabitants who were able to bear arms, they would be in a condition to resist the Moguls, or at least to hinder their progress a great while: 'but,' says a Turkish historian, what did their walls avail them? whatever forces the besieged had, fortune was not their side.*

The troops Mehomed had placed in the city to defend it were the cause of its being lost, they had for their Generals three * Captains, who did not answer the great confidence the Sultan their master reposed in them. And it must be confessed, that this Prince made a very ill choice of his Generals. These three chiefs, tho' men of quality, did one of the basest actions in the world. Fear took possession of their minds, and without staying till a blow was struck, they fled out of the city one night with the troops they commanded, leaving the inhabitants to the mercy of their enemies. But this their shameful flight was justly punished; for as they were retiring with their families, and endeavouring to outwit the Moguls, in hopes to escape under shelter of the dark night, their design was discovered; thirty thousand Moguls pursued and overtook them on the banks of the river Oxus, where they had a bloody dispute. The traitors were defeated, and almost all of them put to the sword.

The retreat of these troops took from the besieged all hopes and courage; there was nothing to be seen in the city but a general confusion. The greatest part of the inhabitants said, that they must now implore the Grand Can's clemency, and carry him the keys of the city: and others, fearing his cruelty, would have them hearken to nothing but despair, and advised that all the inhabitants should destroy themselves and city with fire and sword, to deprive the Moguls of the glory and satisfaction of conquering them; whilst they were thus deliberating what to do, Genghiscan, who was

* Their names were *Ghuccan*, *Sepéccan*, and *Gushlican*.

not ignorant of the distracted condition they were in, caused them to be attacked on all sides; and whilst the engines were getting ready to be played, all on a sudden they saw the gates set open, as if Bocara had nothing more to fear. At the same time all the magistrates of the city, the lawyers, and chief of the inhabitants came in a body to meet the Emperor, to whom they presented the keys, and asked their lives; which were granted them on condition they should oblige themselves by an oath not to give any shelter or assistance to the Sultan of Carizme, and immediately to put out of Bocara all who could be suspected of being in that Prince's interest, particularly all the military officers and the soldiers, whom it was forbidden them to conceal on any pretence whatsoever. They swore exactly to execute all the Grand Can's orders, and assured this Prince of an eternal fidelity to him.

So soon as it was known in Bocara that they had nothing more to fear, an infinite number of people, impatient to see their new master, went forth, and Genghizcan took possession of the city. As for the castle, which was strong, all the young people who were displeased with the agreement made with the Moguls, were retired thither, being headed by the Governor, a brave man, who resolved to hold out to the last extremity, and preserve his reputation, life, and liberty.

The eastern historians make no mention of the manner in which the Mogul Emperor made his entry into Bocara. They only say, that he was accompanied by his son Prince Tulisan; and that having stopped before a mosque to look upon it, he asked if that were the Sultan of Carizme's palace: and being answered by one of the inhabitants that it was the House of God, he respectfully got off his horse, and walked on foot. This action made the Bocarians think that heaven had inspired him with devotion; but so soon as he was entered into it, they were convinced of their error. He went up into a gallery, and without the least respect for the place where he was, made a discourse to the people and magistrates of the city, wherein he told them that they should immediately take care to find means to subsist his army; that the country being stripped of all things, his troops had suffered much,

and that therefore they should make haste and set open their magazines, then he descended, and went out of the mosque.

All the people of Bocara hastened to execute his orders. They ran to their magazines, but they found them already opened; for the Moguls were no sooner entered the city, but, they began to show their power by making themselves masters of all the provisions. And so great a number of their cavalry entered the place, that they could scarce find room to lodge their horses in; and all the stables were so full, that they were obliged to put some of them into places very unfit for such uses.

A certain historian deploras on this occasion the fate of the learned men in Bocara. After having related the servile offices the enemies obliged them to perform for them; 'The Moguls, says he made stables of the libraries, they threw down the books, and by an unexampled profanation, the leaves of the glorious Alcoran served for litter to their horses, and were trod under foot.' The good wise men comforted themselves for these disorders with the consideration that it was the will of heaven, and must be submitted to. And one amongst them answered a doctor who complained as he was talking with him. That it is requisite they should suffer misfortunes without murmuring, since it is the wind of God's anger that blows upon them. All the populace were inconsolable; and tho' the belief of predestination generally comforted the Mahometans in their misfortunes, yet they appeared now unable to govern or moderate their resentment.

When Genghizcan had provided for the subsistence of his troops, he retired to his tent, where he reposed himself for some days, to give time to his soldiers to refresh themselves. This Prince loved to speak in public, because in the beginning of his good fortune he had successfully experienced the power of his eloquence. He caused the principal men of Bocara to be called together. The magistrates, lawyers, priests, the antients, and chief Mahometans made haste to know his pleasure. They placed themselves round about a kind of tribunal or pulpit erected for him in a field: which the Grand Can ascending, began his Oration with praising God, and a particular detail of

all the favours he had received from him. After which he represented to his auditors how great God's anger must be against them by reason of their Sultan's crimes, whom he accused of treachery and breach of faith. But added he, the most detestable action of all he has done, and what will the most astonish posterity, is the murder committed at Otrar by his own order upon the persons of my Ambassador, and the Mogul Merchants. Otrar has already felt my vengeance; and the perfidious Gayerean, who was over-faithful in executing the unjust and barbarous commands of the King of Carizme, shall soon lose his life in the chains in which I have kept him captive. He finished his discourse with telling them that God had chosen him to punish Mehomed for all his cruelties, and at the same time to clear the earth of him and all other tyrants. At this period of his discourse he stopped, to give time for the interpreters to explain what he had said to the Carizmeans.

After he had a long time entertained them on the subject of their Monarch's crimes, and how little they were obliged to that King for having drawn that war upon them, and boasted of the intimate communication he pretended to have with God, and the authority he had by inspiration received, from him to govern all the kingdoms of the earth, he at last came to the point for which it is most probable he had called them together. He testified the satisfaction he had received from the inhabitants of Bocara, in their having voluntarily and without compulsion furnished his army with all things they wanted; but he added, that this action was but a slight proof of their obedience and good-will to him, and that it was only to try them that he had ordered them to give his troops something to subsist with, which his soldiers could easily have taken without asking their leaves. But now, said he, I shall require of you a much stronger proof of your obedience. It is my pleasure that you discover to me all the treasures you have hid, and that you immediately put it all into the hands of my officers. Neither is this all; I expect you do not shelter or conceal any of the Sultan's friends, or any belonging to him. And as you perform this last command of mine, so I shall judge of your

good or ill will to me; and this I shall look upon as an assured testimony either of the one or the other. His harangue thus ended, he dismissed them, and they prepared to obey him, tho' in secret they deplored their wretched condition.

The Grand Can nominated several officers to receive the riches they brought; but he commanded them to execute his orders without violence, and not to require of the inhabitants more than what they could readily furnish. This city being a place of great trade, there was abundance of gold, silver, and precious stones, without mentioning rich gold and silver stuffs, which luxury and plenty had rendered very common. One part of these treasures were carried into the royal treasury, the officers had the rest, and the soldiers enriched themselves.

The inhabitants of Bocara had been contented with their misfortunes, if they had been quit by losing all their effects, because they might in time have got something again; but these poor people became yet more miserable, and their good nature completed their ruin. Genghizcan, as has been before related had ordained that they should not conceal any officer or soldier belonging to the Sultan; the greatest part of the inhabitants obeyed him; yet some others, persuaded that it was not difficult to evade the rigour of this order, neglected to execute it, and kept concealed in their houses such of relations or friends as belonged to the Sultan's army. The Mogul officer discovered and informed the Emperor of it, who giving vent to his rage, commanded that the city should be laid in ashes. The Mogul soldiers willingly undertook this employment, and all part of the town were strait on fire, the greatest part of the building being made of wood, because of the difficulty of getting stone in the country round Bocara. Thus this great city, which in the morning of this fatal day might justly pass for one of the most beautiful in all Asia, was in the evening nothing but a sad heap of cinders and ruins. All that it had most valuable was destroyed; and all the houses became a prey to the flames, except some publick buildings, such as the mosques and caravanserais, which were made of bricks. Altho' the Grand Can had laid siege to the castle so soon as the city had opened its gates to the Mo-

guls, was not yet master of it. It is true; the desire of plundering the city had made the troops less vigorous in their attacks of it. The walls were excellent good and defended with good towers; and the besieged, animated by the misfortunes of their country, employed all their efforts to defend themselves: yet this fortress, after the burning of the city, being hard pressed, attacked by a great number of troops, and even by the inhabitants of Bocara themselves, whom Genghizcan forced to serve him, could not hold out long. The Governor seeing himself and friends overwhelmed with pots thrown by full of naphtha and fire, and the gate of the castle in flames, surrendered at discretion. He was made a prisoner of war with all his garrison. They took away the lives of all the Gébbarans belonging to the Sultan; that is to say, of all the great officers. There were many of them in the castle; and these, says Fadlallah, were the heroes who boasted to nimble and so expeditious to execute their Master's orders, that they felt not the earth on which they trod. Genghizcan would not leave any thing behind him in this country that could make them uneasy, nor employ any of his troops to keep; therefore he demolished the castle.

Nevertheless Bocara was rebuilt soon after Genghizcan died, by order of Ostaican his successor in the empire. The happy situation drew fresh inhabitants to settle there; and this city was as much esteemed after its re-establishment, as it was before its ruin, the country being full of fertile plains which produced abundance of all good things.

The Princes Zagatai and Ostai having rejoiced the Emperor their father before the burning of the city, rendered him an account of their expedition to Otrar; and he testified to them how well he was satisfied with their conduct.

The city of Bocara was the more regretted because all arts and sciences had flourished there as much as in any place in the world. Several learned men had rendered it famous; amongst whom was the learned Avicen. * This philosopher followed the greatest part of his studies in the university which in his time was

* Bocara, a city famed for the sciences, where Avicen studied, who was a great philosopher and physician.

in this city; but he was born in another place in this country, in a town named Afhana. * He says himself that he learned the Alcoran and humanity at Bocara, which he perfectly knew before he was ten years old; and that in fine, having learned arithmetick, he applied himself to the mathematicks, which he began by the reading of Euclid. After which he gave himself to study of philosophy, physick, and theology; in which he made so great progress that he was master of all the sciences at eighteen years of age: that after his father's death he went to Court, to which he was called, having gained a great reputation; that he there obtained places of trust, and was so much esteemed by his Prince, that he became his chief minister; yet ceased not to pursue his studies.

He died at Hamadan, Ann. Dbn. 1036. Heg. 428; aged fifty-eight years; or thereabouts, according to the lunar computation made by Bencafem an astronomer, compared with the solar. The orientals assure us that Avicenna did publish more than a hundred volumes both in prose and verse; and they say that his works were called *The Glorious Works*. They also observe that he extremely loved wine and women.

Afhana, Avicenna's Country.



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CHAP. XXIII.

THE SIEGE OF SAMARCAND.

SOMETIME after the taking of Bocara, Prince Tofschi arrived to join the Grand Can his father, whom he found within a day's journey of Samarcand, in a place where the army had lain encamped the latter end of the month of May. The Prince gave him an account of his expeditions, and forgot not to praise the conduct of Elac Neviani, who accompanied him. The Emperor showed all the joy imaginable at the Prince's return to him, and looked very kindly upon Elac. He consulted with them about the siege he designed; and 'tis said that he followed the advice they gave him, and that it was of great use to him.

Samarcand was at that time the capital of Transoxiana. This city had always been held in great estimation. This place the Chinese, who have no R in their alphabet, called Samahanfa. 'Twas the Maracandis of Pliny, Strabo, and other ancients. It was seventy furlongs round, that is to say, about three French leagues. * In the days of Alexander the Great it was more than twelve leagues in compass. It was walled round as well as Bocara when the Moguls laid siege to it, with this difference, that the walls of Samarcand were much more regularly built, and had more fortifications than those of Bocara. It had twelve gates, a league distant from one another. These gates were made of iron, and at every two leagues there was a fort able to hold a great body of troops for the security of the place. The walls were likewise fenced with battlements and towers, to fight under shelter, and were surrounded with a very deep ditch, thro' which an aqueduct was laid that carried the water from a little river in leaden pipes, which conveyed it into all parts of the city of Samarcand in such a manner, that there was not a great street but what had water running thro' it, or a house of any consequence without a fountain. Besides this, there was a rising ground from whence several rivulets descended, forming

* *Quarto die ad Urbem Maracandem perventum est 7170 stadium murum completitur. Quintus Curtius.*

spouts and cascades of water, which served to adorn their public places, and please the eye. The inhabitants were very curious to have fine gardens, and every house had one belonging to it.

In this great city there was an inclosure called the inner city, which had four gates, but the walls were defenceless. The principal mosque of Samarcand was within this enclosure, as also the palace where the Prince used to reside.

Jacut reports, that when one went to the top of the fortrefs to view the city, one could see nothing but trees and the roofs of some houses; which is not at all surprising, since in this great circumference of land that these walls enclosed, there were plowed lands, fields, and an infinite number of gardens, nay even mountains and valleys. There are some authors who pretend that this city was built by Alexander the Great during the time of his conquests in Transoxiana and Bactriana, and that he gave it the name of Alexandria. But this opinion has little grounds to support it, as has also that of an eastern author, who imagined it to have been built by a King of Arabia Felix, called Tobai; for that city was built before Tobai, who was of the family of Tabateba, as Hezarsen assures us in his Universal History of Asia. It was standing before Alexander the Great's time; and the Arabian King Tobai did only build one gate, yet called the gate of Kesh, on which was long time seen a plate of iron, with an inscription engraved in Houmarite characters, which is the ancient Arabic, witnessing its antiquity. Samarcand was the seat of the Great Tamerlain's empire about a hundred and forty years after its being taken by the Moguls; and this Prince made it one of the finest cities in the east, tho' it was not quite so large in its extent as before. He afterwards built a city which he called Damas. During his reign, in digging up some of the foundation of the walls, they found medals with Cufique characters upon them; a circumstance which must make us conclude that a Mehometan Prince rebuilt this city.

The Mogul Emperor was not informed time enough of the Sultan's being retired into Samarcand; for which reason he could not prevent his retreat.

thence, nor overtake him in his passage into Corasfana, whatever forces he had sent after him: he therefore thought no more of any thing but making preparations for this siege; which he supposed would take up much time; and in truth, the great number of soldiers that were in the city, the abundance of provisions which he had not been able to hinder them from getting in, altho' the Moguls had seized of a-bundance of places from whence they could much annoy the inhabitants, the strength of the walls and the ditch, all seemed to promise a long resistance.

Mehomed, not doubting but this city would be besieged by the Moguls, had caused troops to enter into it to the number of one hundred and ten thousand men, sixty thousand of whom being Turks, had commanders of great renown; and the others, says Fadlallah, were all of those brave Tagis, * each of whom upon an exigence would not have shrunk back or trembled at the sight of an angry lion, or an elephant in fury. Besides these troops there were twenty of the biggest and strongest elephants, and so great a quantity of people, both inhabitants of the city, and those who were retired into it for their safety, that the place, tho' of so great an extent, could hardly contain so many men.

Genghizcan being arrived before Samarcand, caused the place to be viewed, and then formed the siege, giving his orders to his Lieutenant Generals, and making out himself the posts they should place themselves at; and when the engines were ready, he caused several places to be attacked at the same time, to frighten the besieged. They sustained these attacks with much courage; and some of their best troops fellied out with so much bravery and resolution, that they overthrew all they met with; and had already killed a great many of the Moguls, when they perceived, that fresh troops ran from all parts to the besieged assistance, upon which they retreated in good order into their city with a great many prisoners. Their success in this sally encouraged the besieged to make others every day, in which sometimes one side, and sometimes the other, got the better; so

* *Tagic* signifies a *Turcoman* according to *Padiallah*; but according to the *Persian* and *Turkish* Dictionary wrote by *Nimet Allah*, they were the natural born *Persians* who could not speak the *Turkish* language.

that in a short time a great many brave men were killed on both sides.

One may judge by these beginnings that the Moguls must have experienced in this enterprize all the difficulties that the besiegers of any place could meet with; from a city that was very strong, and well provided, if the spirit of discord had not crept in amongst the besieged. But so many sorts of people of different nations as were in that city, could not agree; and a misunderstanding, rather than fear, divided them into two parties, one of which were for surrendering the town, to avoid being plundered and put to death, which it was certain they would have been, if the Moguls got it by storm; and the others, of which Alubcan the Governor of the place was the chief, trusting to the number and valour of the garrison, rather than to the fair promises of the Moguls, were of opinion that they should continue to defend it to the last extremity, for their Sultan's honour, and the preservation of their religion.

These two parties not being able to unite in opinion, ceased to act together. The Governor, who was possessed of the castle, fortified himself and friends in the best posts in the city: and those that were inclined to yield, seized upon one of the gates, to have the freedom of treating with the besiegers if they thought fit, without the consent of the rest. This party was headed by the Cady and Musty of Samarcand, with several Lords who were fallen out with Alubcan, and who being most of them natives of this country, were desirous to preserve their estates.

The Cady and Musty were nominated by this party to go to the Grand Can in their behalf, to try to obtain of him an honorable composition. After they had saluted him, he asked them what was their business. Then interceding for the rest of the besieged, they besought him to pardon them the resistance they had made, to which they were obliged by the fidelity they owed their Sultan. And to the end the Mogul Emperor might not reproach them for being false to their duty, they told him that they had not come to make him these offers, if they had not found themselves constrained to it by a superior power, which had convinced them that it was God's pleasure they should submit to the great Genghizcan, whose clemency they now implored, promising an entire submission.

on to him, both for themselves, and for all those their friends who were in the city.

Altho' Genghizcan had received the Cady and Musty with much civility, yet he did not grant them all they demanded: and perhaps he had refused them all, had he not feared that despair might re-unite their mind, and inspire them with resolution enough to defend the place to the last extremity, which would have rendered the taking of Samarcand very uncertain, and consequently have been a great hindrance to his other designs. He only granted life and fortune to the Cady and Musty who brought the message, and to all those of their party; but he would not allow any favour to those of the contrary party, whatever intreaty the Cady and Musty made use of to prevail with him to comprehend them in the capitulation. He sent commissaries with sufficient troops to take possession of the gate which they were to deliver to him, with orders to spare the lives of all those whom the Cady and Musty protected. All who were of their party came together to them at their return; after which they were distributed by hundreds in the fields, and numbered, amounting to more than fifty thousand persons.

Mean while the Governor held those places in the city that were most difficult of access, believing that the resistance he was able to make, would procure him better terms than what he was otherwise to expect; for he very well knew that Genghizcan had resolved to give him no quarter, and therefore he prepared to make him change his resolution, or to die gloriously for his matter. The Moguls attacked Ajubcan, who sustained their assaults with extraordinary courage. For four days they could not force him to yield; but the fifth, seeing they had taken all the other posts but that which he in person defended, he resolved either to perish, or deliver himself out of the danger he was in, by running a generous venture, which was to open himself and friends a way thro' the enemies army with their swords. He communicated his design to the chief officers of the troops he had left with him. They approved of it, and promised to execute what

* This gate was called the gate of the Musty. *Abulair*. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

soever he commanded them to undertake. And their circumstances requiring speed, and their safety consisting in their diligence, the hour was fixt in which he thought it most proper for them to make the attempt. A thousand chosen horsemen, who carried nothing with them to incumber them; well mounted, got ready to attend their commander; and at a signal he gave them, they broke thro' the Moguls camp, whom they surprized, and in spite of them escaped.

The soldiers who remained in the city being informed of the Governor's retreat, lost all courage and the Moguls were soon masters of the place, which they plundered, ruined the walls, and put to sword thirty thousand men who remained of the garrison, which had been drawn out of certain tribes of Turks, who had before been subjects to the Sultan's mother, and amongst whom the Prince of Cangouli was found, with five or six petty Princes. They made all people, both men and women, go forth of the city, whom they would make slaves of. The tradesmen, who were at least thirty thousand in number, were distributed amongst the Princes, Generals, and other Officers of the army. The rest of the inhabitants were pardoned, on condition they should furnish two hundred thousand dinars, or crowns of gold, for their ransom; and then the soldiers were ordered to give over plundering, after they had loaded themselves with the spoils. Yet whatever grief and resentments the inhabitants felt to see their city thus pillaged, they could not but be sensible of some pleasure that they were permitted to live still with their families and friends, and to enjoy what their enemies could not carry away. The reduction of Samarcand was the more pleasing to Genghizcan, because he did not expect it so soon. He put the city into such a condition as he thought fit; and after having reposed his troops for some time, giving rewards to those who had deserved them, he prepared to execute other enterprises. At this time, and without the city of Samarcand, in a place called Gheuciserai, Gayercan the Governor of Otrar, was put to death by the Grand Can's order.

The city of Samarcand, according to Ulugbeg, who was sovereign of it, was in forty degrees of lati-

rude, situate in the antient Sogdiana; for the province itself, and the river that waters it, are at this day called Sogde. It was built on the south side of the river, the water of which, as we have said, was distributed by canals and pipes all over the city. It ran along the outside of the walls of Samarcand, and rendered the country very pleasant, and the walks very agreeable. Its banks were planted thick with fruit-trees, which yielded a great revenue; one part of the fruits belonging to certain Magi, to whom it was given, on condition they should take care to observe whatever past upon this river; for which reason they dwelt along the banks of it winter and summer.

At present Samarcand is considerable, not only because of the advantages I have been speaking of, and of the beauty of its publick buildings and market-places, which are built and paved with very fine stones fetched from a mountain called Cubac; but also because of its commerce with Great Tartary, India, and Persia, from whence they bring all sorts of merchandize. Besides, this city furnishes Indostan with the best fruits, which they eat both green and dried. Of these the inhabitants derive a great trade; and 'tis from these gardens those excellent melons are gathered which are used in India in the depth of winter at the great Lord's tables. They also make silk-paper in this place, the finest in the world. * The Turkish letter which was sent to the King of France in the year 1675, by the King of Persia, was writ upon paper made in Samarcand; and that which he commonly writes his letters upon, is made at Esterabad, and is called Abadi. In fine, there is in Samarcand a famous academy of sciences. An Uzbek Prince † is, at present Lord of this city; and tho' he is not so potent as his predecessors, yet he is much greater than the Cans of Balc and Bocara, who are also Uzbeks as well as he. These three petty Princes are almost always at war with the King of Persia, and are leagued together against him.

* Fine silk paper at Samarcand.

† The Uzbeks are sovereigns of Samarcand at this present time.

CH. A. P. XXIV.

GENGHIZKAN SENDS THIRTY THOUSAND MEN UNDER THE COMMAND OF THREE GENERALS, TO PURSUE THE SULTAN OF CARIZME. THEIR JOURNEY THRO' CORASANA. THE DEATH OF SULTAN MEHOMED KING OF CARIZME.

WHEN the Mogul Emperor was going to besiege Samarcand, he was informed of the Sultan of Carizme's being fled thence by the way of the river Oxus toward the country of Termed. He immediately sent a detachment of thirty thousand horse to pursue him; and these troops being led with extreme diligence by able officers, filled all the countries with dread; which the Moguls had any cause to fear, and broke all the measures of the Sultan and his Son Prince Gelaleddin. These troops were commanded by Hubbe Nevian, Suida, Behadeur, and Empire Touquer, each of whom held the rank of Princes amongst the Moguls. The Emperor, that they might be the less embarrassed in their march, gave to each of them but one teman, that is to say, ten thousand men, and ordered them not to go so far asunder as to be unable to join each other soon upon occasion, and to live together in a perfect union. And this is the substance of the orders they received from this Prince.

Go, said he go with all speed, use all your endeavours to overtake the Sultan, seize upon his person, and bring him to me. If any Prince, friend or enemy, offers to aid him, enter his country and punish him; but commit no acts of hostility, and do no injury to those who yield to you, and will be my friends, unless they afterwards turn to be my enemies. In this case chastise them severely, and give them no quarter. And when I will pursue the Sultan's children wherever they dare appear. I will even pass over the Oxus to break whatever measures he takes. Go then and search on all sides, without sparing either your time or pains. Do all that is necessary for my service; raise troops if there be occasion; and if you meet with the Sultan in any part of Persia, penetrate into it, even to Derbende in Georgia. If

“ any Princes oppose you in your passage thither,
 “ force your way, take their countries, and come
 “ and rejoin me in mine by Capschac, and by the
 “ other roads which you will find to the northward
 “ of the Caspian sea, which you must bring under
 “ my command.”

These three Generals, after having taken leave of the Grand Can, went away at the head of their troops in the month of June in the year 1220. Led by a false report, they marched towards the frontiers of India, and passing the Oxus, in the country of Balé where they made a very exact search after the King of Carizme; but not being able to get any news of him, they took guides, and drew towards Gorassana. The General Tonguer advanced still towards India, and the two others turned short towards Herat, the Capital of Gorassana. The Prince Eminmalec, the Governor of the city, a relation of the Sultan, was surprized at so sudden an invasion; and finding he was not in a condition to defend himself, he chose to submit. He sent an officer to meet Hubbe Nevian and Suida Behadeur, to treat with them. The officer promised that the city should furnish their army with all they had need of, and even pay them some contributions. The treaty was concluded, and punctually performed by the inhabitants; for which reason the Moguls did not commit any disorder in the country of Herat, and went forward, without making any stay, towards the city of Zave.

Tonguer sometime after having left the frontiers of India, arrived in the country of Herat, where he committed some acts of hostility, not knowing, or pretending not to know that the Governor had submitted to his colleagues. This proceeding obliged the people of the country to defend themselves. The Prince Eminmalec sent a man to the two other Mogul Generals to inform them of the ill treatment he had met with. In the mean time, some troops went out of the city, and joined themselves to the country people who had taken arms, which together made an army so superior to Tonguer's, that he was beaten, and received a wound in the crowd, of which he died. So that when the officer whom Hubbe Nevian and Suida Behadeur sent to inform him of the treaty made with

the city, arrived, he only served to conduct the remainder of his army to the place where the other Generals were.

When Hudbe and Suida were come to Zave, they demanded refreshments; but the inhabitants shut the gates against them, and would grant them none. The Moguls who were now in want of victuals, sent to entreat the Governor of the city not to refuse them; but whatever prayers and offers they made him, they could obtain nothing: which so much incensed them, that they immediately prepared to take the place, which the soldiers did with the greater fury, because they were promised the plunder of it, and had already suffered great want of provisions. Thus, notwithstanding all the resistance the besieged could make, the Moguls took the city in three days time, tho' not without the loss of a great many men: but this loss made them so furious, that they put to the sword all that fell into their hands, and then plundered the houses, and seized of all they could carry away.

Zave was a city of a moderate bigness, situate between Herat and Nischabour, in thirty-five degrees twenty minutes of latitude. Several famous men were born in this place.

The Moguls, after having reposed themselves for some days, marched towards Nischabour, on advice given them by a spy that the Sultan was retired there. They sent some scouts before to observe the state of affairs, and desired that above all things they would make it their business to learn some news of the King of Carizme, and to inform themselves whether he was still in that city, or if gone out of it, what road he had taken, and where he could be. These Moguls were no sooner got into Nischabour, but they were discovered, and the reason of their coming guessed at. The people used them civilly, and deputed three persons of quality, who were related to the Sultan, to go to the Mogul Generals to treat with them.

These deputies had full power, given them, to offer what conditions they thought fit, without the fear of being contradicted; and after having in the Governor's name made their offers of submission, they promised to give all the money that was demanded, with all sorts of refreshments the Mogul army had need of, and even obliged themselves to pay tribute to the Grand

Can, and not to assist or succour his enemies. On these conditions the inhabitants yielded, and received no injury; they even obtained of General Hubbe a guard to secure them from the insults of the Tartars who might come after him. What had happened to the inhabitants of Herat, made them use this precaution. All things thus agreed, the deputies of Nischa-bour made no difficulty to confess that the Sultan had been in their city, but assured the Generals that he was gone out of it with design to go to the Persian Hircania, or Yrac Agemi, a country antiently inhabited by the Parthins; which he was persuaded to do by the Prince Amededdin, who accompanied him. They added, that this Amededdin was son to the vizier Rucneddin, Prince of Yrac Agemi, one of the Sultan of Carizme's sons: that, being desirous to return into Persia, where his dearest companions were, and he had been used to live, he had persuaded his grandfather, over whom he had a great ascendent, to retire thither, and leave Corassana; telling him that the province of Yrac abounded with men, and that he might easily raise a great army there, and being assisted by his father, Rucneddin, he would be furnished with all things necessary, and soon be in a condition to revenge himself upon Genghizcan.

But Amededdin deceived the King and himself; and could not have given worse advice; for Yrac was not by much so powerful a country as Corassana, which he persuaded him to quit. Corassana contained the most populous cities, and those provinces of Asia that were the most beautiful and rich. The antient Aria, so celebrated for its fertility, was but a part of it; Bactriana, which was no less populous, nor less in extent, and plentiful, was another; and the antient Parapomisa made up but the least part of it, according to the limits Abulfeda gives to Corassana. He bounds that province on the west side with Jurgiana, which was the Margiana of the antients, and with the great desert which separates it from the province of Yrac Agemi, which is also called the Persian Hircania, or the mountainous part of the country of Parthia; he confines it on the south with the province of Comus, which was the Comisena of Ptolemy, and by the desert which separates it from Persia properly so called: he places on the east of it In-

-dia and Segestan, which Quintus Curtius calls the country of the Sufitanians; and, in fine, he says, that on the north it is environed by Transoxiana and Turquestan.

Some others report, that its frontiers extended even to Sogdiana; which proves that the country of Corassana was a vast extent. It had often had the title of a distinct Kingdom, of which Balc had in times past been the capital. Nischabour had also been so in its turn; and in later times Scha-Ismael ordered that Mescched should be so. The Uzbeg Princes at present possess the best part of Corassana, and the rest is under the King of Persia.

The Sultan of Carizme having left Nischabour, went to Bestam, a very pleasant and strong city, situate in Tabarestan, in thirty six degrees twenty minutes of latitude. At his arrival there, he sent for the Emir Omar, one of the stewards of his household, and native of this country, to come to him in the Castle-hall. He shewed to him ten coffers which were sealed up with the royal signet asking him if he knew what they contained. The Emir answered, no. Well then, said the Sultan, they are filled with jewels, amongst which there are several of an inestimable value. The King said, moreover that no man in the world, except two who were there present, knew what was in those coffers. Then he ordered him to see them carried to the strong fortrefs of Ardahan, which Omar immediately saw done.

Mehomed raised some troops at Bestam, and continued to levy men all the way, even till his arrival in Persia; and likewise got together some troops of soldiers whom the Moguls had dispersed. And being in Yrac-Agemi, he stopped in Maradoulet. A had, a place dependent of Hamadan, where Rucneddin, his son, to whom he had given this country, came to meet him with some troops; which being joined with those the Sultan had levied in the way, made above twenty thousand horse. During this time the Mogul Generals having got news of this King, marched after him, pursuing his steps; and made so great haste that they surprized him at Farzine, some little time after he was gone out of Maradoulet. They cut to pieces the best part of his army, and the remainder fled. Rucneddin himself fled as far as the frontiers of Quirman. Yet

the Sultan escaped from the Moguls, and retired by several by-ways with a small number of officers into Guilan, and from thence to Estedad, a place much esteemed for its situation, the strongest city of Mazandran, and the most difficult to besiege, because an army could not come near it but by very narrow passages. He so well concealed the place of his retreat from his enemies, that they were obliged to send out parties on all sides to get news of him: but at last a Lord of that country, to be revenged on the Sultan, who had put his uncle to death, headed a small detachment of Moguls, and at last discovered the way the Prince had taken. Then he advanced almost to Estedad, where some peasants told him that the King of Carizmie was in a town near the Caspian sea, where he every day assisted at the publick prayers which the Imam made in the mosque at the usual hours. One historian writes that this unfortunate Sultan melted into tears when he heard the Alcoran read, and that he made many ardent vows to heaven, and promised with a loud voice, punctually to observe these vows, and to govern his people with as much gentleness as equity, if God would deliver him out of the danger he was now in, and that he should see himself re-established in his throne.

Mean time the Moguls, conducted by the traitor who served for a guide to them, beset the town where they were informed the King was, yet they missed of him: for he being upon his guard, had provided a bark ready equipped on the sea shore, to throw himself into in case of need, and accordingly he embarked on the first notice given him of the enemy's approach. This news was brought him by a faithful subject, who would not suffer his Prince to fall into the Moguls hands: but it was full late when he received this advice, for all that he could do was to reach the sea shore, and to get into the ship, and he had but just weighed anchor when the enemies appeared upon the shore, from whence perceiving they had missed of their prey, they valiantly shot a great quantity of arrows after him. There were some Tartars who even threw themselves into the sea, and swimming after him, were swallowed by the waves. This miserable King being reduced to this extremity, as if his misfortunes were

not sufficient alone to overwhelm him, fell into a pleurisy, which grew so violent, that he was obliged to stop at an island called Abiscon. There, notwithstanding all the ills he suffered, his sentiments were divided which to chuse, life or death: 'Is it possible,' said he, that of all the countries I possessed, there is no more remaining but two cubits length to hold my body? How uncertain a dwelling is the world, and how little ought those who inhabit it to put their trust in this life, in which one is exposed to so many misfortunes?' He abandoned himself to these sad reflections, and was not capable of tasting any joy but only that of seeing himself securely landed on this island.

In reality, the Moguls did not imagine that he would land in a desert island, but believed that he put to sea with design to retire into the country of Carizme, or to some neighbouring Prince. For this reason Hubbe Nevian and Suida Bahadeur having received information of the Sultan's flight, gave the Grand Can notice of it, who failed not to have him searched for all over the kingdom of Carizme, and in every place where he thought it probable he was.

During this time Mehomed, whatever care his officers took to divert him, was even buried in a profound melancholy; yet to show that he was sensible of their zeal and fidelity, he conferred employments upon them, which his successor permitted them to enjoy. For this unfortunate King died in this island Abiscon of his pleurisy, which his physicians could not cure, tho' they employed all the secrets of their art. A few days before his death, the Prince Gelaleddin, having been informed that he was in this island, came secretly thither with two of his brothers. The Sultan, who expected them, seeing them arrived, said to him, 'Prince, you are the person who amongst all my children are most able to revenge me on the Moguls; therefore I revoke the act I heretofore made at the request of the Queen my mother in favour of my son Coutbeddin.' Then he appointed Gelaleddin to be his successor in the empire; and he commanded the other Princes his sons to obey their brother, as being their rightful Lord and Master, which they promised to do. At the same time he gave him his sword, and sent him away to look after the affairs

of the state; after which he expired, under the covert of a little tent which had been set up for him. Schamseddin Mah moude, first gentleman of his bed-chamber, washed his body, and wrapped it in a shirt, having no other linen to bury it in. This was the end of this mighty King, who was buried in this isle as meanly as one of the poorest Mahometans. But some years after, the Sultan Gelaeddin had his bones taken up, and carried with great pomp into the fortrefs of Ardahan,



THE SIEGE OF THE CITY OF CARIZME, CAPITAL OF THE KINGDOM OF THAT NAME. THE ADVENTURES OF THE QUEEN TURCAN-CATUN, THE MOTHER OF THE KING OF CARIZME.

WHILST these things pass in the isle of Abiscon, Genghizean, who was at Samarcand, ordered the three Princes his eldest sons to go and conquer the kingdom of Carizme; and to enable them to do it, he gave them the one half of his troops, with equal power to act, as he had done to Ostai and Zagatai, when he sent them to Otrar after the battle of Caracou. He was of opinion that several Generals, and particularly brothers, acting in concert, must have better success than if the sole power was lodged in one person; but experience afterwards convinced him he was mistaken. as for himself, he resolved so soon as the Princes were on their march, to go by small journies into the country of Transoxiana, which was not yet reduced, and to besiege what cities he thought proper, till he received news of Sultan Mehomed.

The country of Carizme is that which Ptolemy called Chorasnia. It had Transoxiana on the east, Corasfana on the south, and was separated from both these provinces by desarts; on the north it had Great Tartary, and on the west the Caspian sea, which several of the eastern geographers do call the lake of Carizme: on this side also there were some other countries of the Turks. The capital city was also called Carizme, since called Corcange by the Persians, and Orcange by the Moguls. It was about six small days journey from the Caspian sea, and situate on the west side of the river Oxus, in the forty-second degree of latitude. All the extent of the true country of Carizme was but from the thirty-seventh to the forty-second degree of latitude, and from the ninety-second degree of longitude to the ninety-sixth inclusive; that is to say, that it was not above seventy-two leagues from the east to the west.

The conveniences great rivers afford, generally invite people to dwell in places near them. The most considerable part of this little kingdom was in the neighbourhood of the river Oxus. The Cities one

behold on the borders of this river were all built of brick, and very near to one another. Some of those on the south side were very beautiful. Those that were farthest up in the country appeared least considerable. The name of Carizme was likewise given to Transoxiana, and to many other provinces in which were many fine Governments. This country abounded with learned men, who were skilled in philosophy and all sciences. Poetry then reigned there; and there were few orientals more polite than these. They applied themselves much to musick, or were rather naturally musicians; and an expression concerning their children became customary in the Levant, that they discovered something of musick even in their crying.

The Princes Touschi, Zagatai, and Ootai having received the orders of the Grand Can their father, caused the greatest part of the preparations for the expedition on which they were going, to be made in Samarcand; so that they soon got together a very great number of carts loaden with provisions and warlike stores, as combustible matter for burning, battering-rams, and engines, all ready for use. Genghizcan had always much confidence in his good fortune, and trusted much to the number and valour of his troops. He ordered the Princes first to besiege the capital of Carizme, to the end they might frighten the rest of the cities, and by that means render themselves masters of that kingdom at one blow. He failed not to take all necessary care to bring this enterprize to effect; because he was persuaded that the city of Carizme would make a vigorous defence, it being the place the Sultan most valued, and also because the Queen Turcan-Catun his mother had always, since the death of King Tekisch her husband, lived there. And 'tis certain this Princess, to whom the Sultan had entirely left the Government of this country, extremely loved the city of Carizme, and always kept it well provided, and in a very good condition.

This Queen was the daughter of a Turkish King named Hanqueschi, and the father of Sultan Mehomed espoused her with all the pomp and ceremony used at the marriages of the daughters of the greatest Kings.

The Turkish King outlived his son-in-law, but dying after, and leaving no male issue, the people who were his subjects almost all went to Sultan Mehomed his grandson, who failed not to improve this opportunity to extent the bounds of his empire far among the Turks. For these reasons Turcan-Catun had almost an absolute authority in her son's dominions, who was not content to make her absolute mistress of the country of Carizme only, but gained very few conquests without presenting her with some part of them.

She had for her secretaries of state seven of the most able men of the age. She had the title given her of Codavende Gehan, that is to say, the lady of the world; and her power was so well established in the empire, that when there came double orders, one from Mehomed, and the other from her on the same subject, they only looked on the date, and those orders that were last dated were executed without scruple, tho' the first orders were signed with the Sultan's own hand. In her dispatches she took upon her the title of protectress of the Faith and of the World, and Queen of women. She signed her letters thus, I put myself into the protection of God alone. She wrote with a very large pen, and so curiously, that it was very hard to counterfeit her writing. She had a superior wit. She protected the weak against the powerful; and when any asked for justice of her, she examined the business with such application, that her judgments were always right. It was not permitted any person to solicit her whilst she was informed herself on some other affair on which she was to give judgment. The poor looked on her as their mother, because they often tasted of her bounty. She did much good in the kingdom of Carizme.

It is true, she has blemished her memory by her cruelty. She loved to shed blood; and when she took up a resolution to leave the country of Carizme, she put to death twelve children of sovereign Princes, whom she held prisoners, amongst whom was a Seljukide Prince, the son of Togrul the last King of that family, whom Tekisch her husband had put to death.

Turcan-Catun had been for some time at variance with the Sultan her son, because of Gelaeddin (whom

the hated) who was his eldest son, and a Prince of extraordinary merit, and whose right it was to succeed him in the empire; yet she had prevailed him with the King to make a will in favour of Coutbeddin, whom she loved: and by this will Gelaeddin was deprived of the empire. But when she was informed that the Sultan had annulled it, and declared Gelaeddin his sole Heir, she threw off all the tenderness of a mother, and no more troubled herself about fortifying the country of Carizme, but even resolved to abandon it so soon as she was informed that Genghizcan was advancing into Transoxiana.

She went out of the city of Carizme, accompanied with the wives and concubines of her son, and her grandchildren, loaden with treasure and jewels. The inhabitants melted into tears at her departure, and all those whom she would give leave to follow her, bore her company. She took for her guide a Can named Omar, the son of a petty King of Transoxiana, whom the Sultan had conquered. This Omar, who perfectly knew the country, safely conducted her as far as within a few leagues of Mazanderan. But before their arrival at that place, and her retreat into the citadel of Elac, which was the strongest in all this country, she put this unfortunate Can to death; which is accounted the greatest piece of injustice that was ever committed. The authors who endeavour to excuse her, say, that she feared this Omar would betray her as he returned through the countries he had heretofore enjoyed.

After the Queen's departure, there was a great confusion in the city of Carizme, which continued a long time. A champion whose name was Courd Rukan, a man feared of many people for his extraordinary strength, got the Government into his hands, finding amongst the people a great many seditious persons who supported him in his usurpation; but all the rest abhorred him, so that there was nothing but trouble and divisions in the city. Things remained in this condition to the Sultan's death. Then the great officers of the Prince's Council writ letters in his name, which some of them carried to Carizme, where the people, who were altogether ignorant of what was become of the Sultan, received them with joy, and according to their natural inconstancy, did all these

Lords desired. The Lords turned out Courd Rugam, and seized of the money he had scraped together, which they usefully employed for the public service, and took the Government upon them till such time as Gelaeddin and two of his brothers arrived. But some of the most considerable persons in the kingdom did not like that Mehomed, after having so long before appointed Coutbeddin to be his sole heir, should afterwards revoke that grant at his death, and settle the crown on the head of another. These factious men formed a conspiracy against Gelaeddin, and designed to deliver him up to his brother. But by good fortune Gelaeddin being advertised of this conspiracy by Ainangecan, who was faithful to him, resolved to retire into Corassana. And with this design he set out from Carizme, attended with only three hundred horse, out of seven thousand which came with him into Carizme.

The Mogul Emperor learned by his spies the state of affairs in Carizme; for which reason he not only caused his troops to advance that way, but even sent orders to those he had towards Corassana, to repair to certain places in the desert, and lie there in ambuscade, to the end that if Gelaeddin and his brothers should pass from the country of Carizme to Corassana that way, they might stop them. They immediately obeyed, and the leaders who commanded these troops, placed them as in a circle round about the desert, from the frontiers of Merou, even to the frontiers of Scheheristan.

Gelaeddin, who had taken upon him the quality of Sultan, so soon as he saw himself secure from the conspirators, went out of the desert on that side that led to Nisa. There was near this city a body of Moguls of seven hundred men, who were posted there so secretly, that even the inhabitants of Nisa knew nothing of it. They attacked Gelaeddin briskly. Both sides fought with as much obstinacy as vigour. At last the Moguls, tho' superior in number, gave way, and were the greatest part of them killed. The Carazmeans remained masters of their horses, provisions, and what baggage they had; and the rest of the Moguls who fled, fell into the hands of the peasants, who carried them to Nisa, where they cut off their heads. After this action Gelaeddin retired to Nis-

labour, where he gave orders for getting together an army: but, having learned that the enemies were on their march toward him, he went thence, and meeting a party of the Moguls, defeated them, and hoped he should meet no more; when another body of Genghizcan's army, much more numerous than the former, appeared on a sudden before him, and surrounded him. The Prince resisted, and his resisting cost the lives of almost all his men, and even of his two brothers, who were killed in the crowd. The head of these Princes were cut off, and stuck upon two spears, and carried all over the country, as in triumph, which was a sad spectacle to all the Carizmeans. These two Princes's habits were all covered with jewels of great prices; but the Moguls not knowing the value of them, neglected to take them: and some say that the country-people, when they came to strip the dead, took them, and sold them at a small price for ready money. As for what relates to Gelaledin, we shall speak of him hereafter.

Whilst Genghizcan's three sons were advancing towards Carizme with a great army, the chief Lords of the country were not a little surprized when they heard they were approaching, because they imagined that the Grand Can had sent almost all his forces into Corassana, to hinder Gelaledin from getting an army together. There were at that time in the city of Carizme several factions which were all bent one against another. Coubeddin and his brothers had their partizans, so that what pleased one part displeased another. Nevertheless the present danger reunited their minds, and all the inhabitants agreed to give up the management of affairs to a Lord of that country, named Himartequin, a relation of the Queen. He was known to be wise and valiant, and of no party. He used all his utmost diligence to put the country into a posture of defence. He particularly applied himself to furnish the town with provisions and warlike stores, bringing into it all things necessary to sustain a siege: and besides the garrison, he caused a great many brave men to come into the city. In fine, he forgot nothing that could contribute to the preservation of the city and country.

Yet the Moguls used so great a diligence, that they surprized those who, fearing a long siege, were gone out of the city to get more provisions from the neighbouring towns. The Moguls vanguard, led by men who knew the country well, being arrived about the evening within a league of the city, found means to conceal themselves near a town called Baghe-Eram, where they lay in ambuscade, without being discovered. They were no sooner encamped, but some troops of Mogul horse as scouts, advanced even to the gates of Carizme, where they carried away a great many horses. The Carizmeans imagining these few bodies of foot were all the Moguls vanguard, sent out against them some horse, with foot soldiers mounted behind them. The Moguls pretending to be afraid, turned their backs, and let them pursue them even to Baghe-Eram. Then the vanguard coming out of their ambuscade, charged the Carizmeans so briskly, that they had not time to recover themselves; and 'twas with difficulty that one escaped: the greatest part of the inhabitants who were come forth in search of provisions were massacred. In fine, the disorder was such at the gates of the city, that several Moguls entered promiscuously with those they pursued.

The wise Himartequin by his prudence soon restored all things to good order, and the Governor had time enough to regulate all things before the rest of the Mogul army arrived. He filled the magazines which were in the most convenient places to distribute the ammunition to the people; the engines were got ready, and placed upon the walls and platforms; they put the several quarters of the city under the command of those officers whom they judged most able to take care of them; and, in fine, fifty thousand men were commanded to guard the gates and walls.

Notwithstanding all these preparations, the Mogul vanguard were no sooner come up, but they invested the town, and seized on all the advantageous posts; so that the three Princes found all things in a good forwardness. They first viewed the place, and held a council of war, where the manner of the siege was resolved on. All the officers then went to the posts appointed them, several towers were raised to place the engines on, and all things were prepared for beginning the attacks. And having nothing to fear

of any armies coming to relieve the town, they made no intrenchments or lines. When all things were ready, the Princes sent to summon the Governor to surrender, and to acknowledge the Grand Can for his Sovereign; which if he refused, he was to expect no quarter either for the garrison or himself. He answered to this summons like a brave man, and instead of consenting to yield to their demands, protested he would be true to his Prince, even to his last breath.

Upon this answer the Moguls made a general attack. There was nothing to be heard in every quarter of the city but the noise of the engines, nor seen, but whole clouds of arrows and darts mixed with fire. The Moguls endeavoured to frighten the besieged, and to reduce them at one blow to ask for peace, but the Carizmeans sustained the assault with a constancy that made the besiegers sensible, they had to do with braver men than those they had met with in other places which had surrendered, and that they should not carry this place without much trouble; yet the Moguls, far from being despirited, repeated their attacks several times, and were always received with the same bravery as at first. One cannot sufficiently praise the courage with which the besieged defended themselves. If the men, who ran boldly to every place where the danger was greatest, and appeared indefatigable and dauntless, are worthy commendation; the women no less deserve our admiration, who were equally courageous. They were not contented to employ themselves only in succouring those who were doing their duty, but they mounted on horseback, and put themselves amongst the troops which sallied forth. We need not be surprized at this, because the women of Turquestan, and the countries adjacent, draw the bow, and shoot as well as the men ride as dexterously, and can sit on horseback as long as they. Tho' they apply themselves to arms, and consequently are obliged to be with all sorts of men, yet they are very chaste; and it is a rare thing to find one who is not true to her husband: nor does this exercise hinder them from performing all the duties required in the management of their affairs at home.

The besieged and the besiegers continued a long time to combat with equal vigour. They profusely spent

their arrows and darts, and the number of men killed on both sides cannot be told. At length the sallies and attacks were so frequent and so obstinate, that the Moguls wanted stones to supply the engines; and having at last nothing left to annoy their enemies, saw themselves obliged to batter the town with great pieces of the trunks of mulberry-trees, with which this country abounded. They had them sawed asunder, fit to be put into their engines, which did not prove of much use to them. Neither did the besieged talk of surrendering to them; for besides the vigorous resistance they made, the ditches round their city were very wide, and very deep, and the river filled them with water. The Princes believing this place would be as easy to take as the others, were willing to spare their soldiers the time and labour of filling them up; but when they saw there was a necessity of doing it, they ordered several companies of soldiers to set about it. And the great quantity of water with which the river Oxus supplied the ditches, rendering their labour ineffectual, it was resolved that the course of the river should be turned by a canal, in order to carry the water off another way, which would make it more easy to drain the ditch, and afterwards fill it up.

Three thousand men were ordered to make this canal, and were already far advanced in the work, when part of the besieged one day went forth of the city, and stole so cunningly along the side of the river under the covert of the trees and reeds that grew there, that they surprized the workmen, made a great slaughter of them, and retired back into the city before the Moguls came up, who ran from all parts at the report of this disturbance, and had only the vexation of seeing their companions dead; or lying wounded in the canal. Yet this misfortune did not make them give over their undertaking; others were instantly ordered to pursue the work; and to prevent the like misfortune, so many troops were sent to guard them, that the besieged did not dare any more to attempt to interrupt this work. When it was accomplished they turned the river into canal, which taking its course that way, and no longer supplying the ditch with water, they soon found means to drain it, and to fill it up with earth, straw, and faggots.

One may easily imagine the Carizmeans did not suffer their ditches to be filled up, without endeavouring to incommode the workmen; but the continual attacks that were made to employ them, called for all their care and attention. All things succeeded as the Moguls proposed to themselves; the ditches were filled up in spite of all the sallies which the besieged could make, during the continual alarm in which the Moguls kept them on all sides. Then the Princes caused the batteries to be redoubled, and considerable breaches were made, and a general assault given with so much vigour, that the Mogul standards were planted on the walls. If this action made the Moguls shout for joy, it put the other side into a consternation. The sight of the enemy's ensigns standing on their walls, gave fresh courage to the besieged. They ran in crowds to the places where the Moguls had planted them, and used such great efforts, that they tore them down. They even repaired the bridges; and the inhabitants had no less share in the danger than the garrison.

On both sides they did nothing but fight during several days, from morning till evening; and yet the disputes generally ended to the advantage of the besieged. This much despirited the Princes; and ill success generally producing a misunderstanding when there are many commanders who are equal in authority, there grew a disagreement between the brothers, that is, between Tauschi and Zagatai, for Ootai did not meddle. They both complained loudly of one another, and mutually reproached each other with having been too careful of their own safety on several occasions, and that had been the cause of the siege's lasting so long.

Whilst this division was betwixt the Princes, things went but slowly on; so that no great advances were made in the siege, altho' they had already spent more than six months before this place. Genghizcan was informed of the dissension that reigned among his children, at which he was much troubled; and after having seriously considered what to do, he resolved to take the command of the army from the two Princes who were most in fault, and to give all the

power to Oñtai, who had shewed himself the wisest. He therefore sent letters to them. Oñtai received a Ferman Hacani, that is to say, an Imperial Order after the manner of Letters Patent by which his father gave him an absolute authority over all the troops in Carizme; and at the same time ordered him to continue the siege. The letters Genghizcan writ to the other two Princes contained a positive command to them to resign all the troops to their brother's command, and to obey him. He likewise writ to the General Officers to be obedient to his son Oñtai; and in every letter testified his displeasure concerning what had passed between them before Carizme.

So soon as Tousehi and Zagatai had received the Emperor's orders, they resigned the command of the army to Oñtai, and seemed even to have forgot all the resentments they had before conceived against one another. Oñtai then having made himself known to the troops as sole commander, held a great council of war, wherein he declared to them the Grand Gan's pleasure; and they agreed what was to be done in order to take the town. Every one put himself in a posture to perform the duties of his place, and the officers seemed all filled with zeal for their Emperor, and rage against their enemies.

Thus fired, they began to renew their batteries against the city with the rams and other engines; and the Moguls being inspired with fresh vigour, discovered an extraordinary courage and boldness. All the sallies were now fatal to the Carizmeans, and the besiegers were not long e'er they made breaches in the walls, and mounted to give the assault. The resistance of the besieged slackened not; they at first killed or disabled all those who entered the breach; which only served to enflame the besiegers, who to revenge the death of their companions did things extraordinary, so that the walls were shaken on every side. The breaches they made, gave opportunity to a great number of Moguls to enter the place; the outworks of which the Carizmeans were forced to yield to the enemies, and to suffer them to set upon the towers of the city their victorious ensigns. The Carizmeans, unable to pluck them thence, found themselves obliged to retire with precipitation into the places they had fortified in the

city, which really appeared to the Moguls as new places to be conquered. They were obliged to attack them in form, and the first assaults were very bloody. Yet in spite of the great defence they made, the citadel which they battered without side, was at last taken, with several fortified places. Then Prince Ootai, to save the effusion of his soldier's blood, caused the Governor to be summoned to surrender and quit the posts that remained; but since they mentioned nothing of leaving the inhabitants at liberty, the Governor rejected all their proposals.

The Moguls, enraged at the Carizmeans obstinacy, who still refused to surrender, tho' their walls, their fort, and the greatest part of the places they had entrenched were ruined, resolved to burn it all. They threw wild fire all over the city, and set fire to the houses on every side. It is impossible to tell how many people and what riches were destroyed by the flames. Then the besiegers repenting of having set fire to the houses, which would prevent them from reaping the fruits of their labours, and make them no gainers by becoming masters of a city so full of treasure, ceased to throw more fire, and employed themselves wholly in making themselves masters of the different quarters of the city, fighting hand to hand. The attacks continued night and day, and the fatigue was so extreme on both sides, the besieged having so entrenched themselves, that one quarter succoured the other; so that when one place was forced after a long resistance, they found a secure asylum in the other. Having all promised to stand by one another, they shewed such resolution that their enemies were amazed. The brave Himartequin, whose valour and prudence had doubtless much contributed to the prolonging of the siege, perished in defending a post which the enemy was storming. An arrow took away the life of this brave man, and snatched him away from his countrymen, whose loss much diminished their courage. Yet they were not so poor spirited as to ask mercy from their enemies, but defended themselves to the utmost extremity; and when they saw they must yield, they put fire to the houses that remained in the city with their own hands; and so disappointed their enemies of gratifying their avarice, shewing they knew how to render their victory less pleasing to them.

And indeed the Mogul soldiers seeing themselves frustrated of the booty they hoped for, put to the sword all the Carizmeans they met with, and suffered their rage to extend itself so far, that they killed about a hundred thousand persons; nay, there are some authors that say two hundred thousand. Prince Ostai had a great deal of difficulty to make the slaughter cease; yet at last he put a stop to it. Then they made all the artificers, and other men who could be of any use to them, go out of the city, and they were found to be a hundred thousand. The young women, girls, and boys, were distributed for slaves, and all the rest were put to the sword. But all those who were put to death seemed not afraid of dying; nay, there were some who refused to live. Among the rest, there was a certain Chec, or Superior of a Society of religious Mahometans, who was famous for his piety: his name was Negemeddin. 'Tis said the three Mogul Princes, when they approached Carizme, heard a voice from heaven, which advertised them to spare this holy person, and to take care that he might go out of the city in safety. But whether this be true, or not, Ostai had a particular respect for him, and offered him a passport to retire with ten of his friends wherever he pleased; but the Chec would not accept it, unless on condition that all the Mahometans in Carizme should be pardoned. Prince Ostai, who desired to save him, sent him word he should have leave to chuse a thousand out of both sexes to accompany him, and that they should be spared for his sake. The Chec rejected all Ostai's offers, and sent him word, that having lived seventy years with the Mussulmen of Carizme, to whom he was united by his religion, it was not just they should be separated in death. Thus this venerable old man had the same fate as his countrymen, and died with his friends.

In fine, the city of Carizme was taken and ruined towards the end of the winter, in the year 1221, and of the Hegira 618, after a siege of seven months. * The Moguls afterwards easily subdued the rest of the province: fear seized all the rest of the people, and

* *Mirconde* says the siege lasted but five months, which is a mistake.

the other cities, which were very rich and populous in those days, surrendered without making any resistance; so that the Moguls obtained in this country a greater booty than they had got since the beginning of this war. The other places which they took after the reduction of Carizme, were Cat, Feraber, Dargane, Zamacsher, the great and little Corcange, which the Arabs called Jorgiania.

Ostai Can left in the country of Carizme what troops he thought necessary to keep it in subjection. Then he departed with the army, accompanied with his two brothers, and made what haste he could to join the Grand Can; but he could not march far in a day, by reason of the badness of the roads: he was even obliged to leave his troops under the command of his Lieutenants.



A a a

GENGHIZCAN'S EXPEDITION TO NACSCHEB, TERMED
BEDASCHAN, AND OTHER PLACES.

THE affairs of Sogdiana being settled, the Grand Can marched into Transoxiana on the west side, and his fame daily encreasing, several towns opened their gates to him. The inhabitants of Nacscheb even went out to meet him, to offer him all that they had; so they were quit for only feeding his army for some months, because this Prince found this country so pleasant, and the air so good, that he staid there the best part of the summer. He was informed at Nacscheb of all that past in Corassana, and in the other provinces situate to the south of the Oxus; for which reason he resolved to go towards that river to continue his conquests.

* After several weeks march, he arrived at Termed, the last town in Transoxiana, towards Tocarestan. Altho' Termed had a great many other places under its Government, yet it was dependant on the city of Kesch. Its situation is placed on the river Oxus, about the thirty-seventh degree of latitude; and being a place very commodious for trade, it had a port which was much frequented. The Sultan of Carizme had conquered it some little time before, when it was under the Government of Behramschah, who was Sovereign of it, and whom the Sultan's mother put to death at her leaving Carizme.

Termed, instead of following the example of Nacscheb, shut its gates against Genghizcan. The garrison, supported by the principal noblemen, resolved to sustain a siege, because Gelaeddin had given them hopes of his coming to their relief. The outside of their walls were bricks, and they had a Castle which the river Oxus defended on one side; so that they believed themselves strong enough to amuse the Moguls till the arrival of Gelaeddin. The Grand Can being informed of their resolution, caused lines to be cast up round it very deep and very wide. He had also platforms raised, and appointed the several quar-

* He went by the way of the passage cut in the rock called *Caluga*, then men say, the iron gate. *Biddallah*.

ters to his army; and, in fine, shut up the place very closely. The besieged, far from being daunted at all these preparations, made ready to receive them warmly. In effect, for the space of eleven days they defended it with all the bravery the Sultan could expect from his best subjects; but Gelaledin not appearing to succour them, and their walls being thrown down, they could not hold out much longer. So the Moguls took the place by storm, and made the besieged pay dearly for the blood of their companions whom they had killed. All the garrison and the inhabitants, except some young people who were reserved for slavery, felt the fury of the besiegers, whom avarice rendered more cruel in this place than they had been elsewhere; for a soldier having ripped up the belly of a woman to search for a pearl she had swallowed, and having found it, several others followed his example, tho' the greater part of them were disappointed, and became a horror to others, for having committed so barbarous an action. The Grand Can caused the town to be razed to the ground about the end of autumn; and it being unlikely that he could pass his army over the Oxus in the beginning of the winter, he thought it best to put his troops into winter quarters, both in the places that were under his obedience, as also in those which he might with little trouble reduce. He accordingly distributed all his forces into Transoxiana. The Tartars whom he sent out on all sides in parties, made terrible ravages, and principally in the towns of Ianguerte and Samande, which had received Genghizcan with regret, and were so imprudent as to let him know it. They were not content to take out of these places all sorts of forage and ammunition, but they also burnt what they left, and committed all sorts of disorders that can be imagined.

As for the city of Bedaeschau, which had freely opened its gates to him, it was not so ill treated; it cost them only their riches. the Moguls pillaged them of a great quantity of hyacinths and rubies, with which this city abounded, its territories being full of mountains out of which they got these precious stones. It also produced fine azure, good bezoar, and what is called the fine chrystal of the Levant. The people who inhabited here were those whom Ptolomy called

Comedi, and its situation was on the confines of India and of Tocarestan.

It was in this country that Alexander the Great saw thirty young Sogdian Lords going cheerfully to die, who sung and rejoiced as they were going to execution; and demanding from whence their joy proceeded, they answered, that the honour of dying, and being restored to their ancestors, by the command of a King who was the conqueror of all nations, was the cause why they rejoiced, and blessed so noble a death. Alexander gave them their lives, and asked them what security they would give him of their fidelity to him; they answered, they had no other to give than the lives he had granted them, which they should always be ready to surrender to him whenever he demanded them: nor did they break their words. Four of these Sogdians he put into his own life-guards, who were as faithful to him as his Macedonians who loved him most.



C H A P. XXVII.

T H E M O G U L S H U N T I N G.

GENGHIZCAN being at Termed in the midst of the winter, a season of the year that hindered him from prosecuting the war, he resolved to have a great hunting-match, to keep his soldiers in action. In order to which, Prince Toulchican the master huntsman of the empire being absent, he commanded the Nevian his Lieutenant to prepare all things necessary for hunting, and to extent the chace as far as the country they were in, and the remaining part of the winter would permit. The Nevian performed the duty of his employment, and took care to give notice to the huntsmen. he directed them what circumference of ground they must encompass, and sent them away post to mark out the bounds of it. After which, he ordered the officers of the army to follow the huntsmen at the head of their troops, as soon as they could, and to go and take up their quarters, that they might be in a readiness for the chace, according to the known orders which had been prescribed by the Emperor when he published the laws concerning hunting, and regulated the manner of it.

So soon as the officers had led their soldiers to the rendezvous, they ranged them round the place encompassed in the manner of a thick hedge, sometimes doubling the ranks about the circle which the huntsmen had marked out, by the Moguls called Nerke. They neglected not to tell them, tho' no person was before ignorant of it, that it was as much as their lives were worth to let the beasts escape out of the ring, which was about four months march in circumference, and enclosed a very great number of groves and woods, with all the beasts that lived in them. The center of this great enclosure, whereto all the beasts must retire, was a plain which the huntsmen had chosen and marked out.

The officers of the chace immediately dispatched couriers to the Lieutenant-General of the chace, to give him an account how things were disposed, and to know of him the orders given for their marching. The Lieutenant went himself to receive them from the Grand Can, and

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afterwards gave them to the couriers, who immediately departed to carry them to the hunting-officers, after having well observed where the King's quarters were, that they might more easily find them when they should be sent back thither again: tho' the King's quarters were not fixed to be always in one place, for he thrust advance according as his troops moved; but as they always moved on in the same line, whatever change of place there was, yet one could not chuse but find him.

The couriers had no sooner brought the orders to the hunting-officers, but they communicated them to the Captains. Then the kettle drums, trumpets, and horns sounded the general march, which being heard throughout the circle, the march began every where at the same time and in the same order; that is to say, the soldiers marched very close together, and always towards the center, driving before them the beasts, like shepherds driving their flocks. They had their officers behind, who observed them; and they were all well armed, as if they had been going on some martial expedition. Yet altho' they had their helmets of iron, their crosslets of leather, and their bucklers of wicker, with their scimeters, bows, and quivers full of arrows, files, hatchets, clubs, cords, and every thing even to the thread and pack-needle; it was forbidden them to kill or wound any animal, whatever violence the beasts offered to them. There were severe punishments decreed to those who should make use of their arms against the beasts: it was only permitted them to shout and hollow, to fright and hinder them from passing the enclosure, for the Emperor had so ordained.

Thus they marched every day, hunting the beasts towards the center, and encamped every night. The military duty was not neglected for all this. The watch-word was given every evening, and there were troops ordered to keep guard, and sentinels, who were duly relieved by others. Those who slept, or did not exactly perform their duty, were punished, they were sometimes alarmed on purpose. In fine, all that is practised in war, was here punctually observed.

The march was not interrupted by any difficulty for some weeks; but a giver which the troops from

Some of the quarters could not ford, hindering them, they made a halt, and gave notice to the rest, to the end they might always march in the same order together. Those who were obliged to pass the river, drove the beasts over it, which swam across; and then passed it themselves upon round pieces of hides, which they bound together with cords. Several soldiers being seated on one of these bundles of leather, each of which was tied to a horse's tail, the horse drew it across the river, following a person who swam before.

Having thus passed over this river, their march was no more interrupted, but they went always in an equal distance from the center, and now the circle lessening, the beasts began to find themselves pressed; and, as if they had been sensible that they were beset, some ran amongst the mountains, others into the valleys that were most obscure; others, without minding to go in the paths and roads, rushed into the forests and thickets, from whence they soon after fled, scenting the hunters, flying elsewhere to seek a securer shelter. The holes and burrows were all filled; but they retreated thither in vain, for they opened them with spades or mattocks, and even made use of ferrets; so that the beasts finding themselves so pressed, were obliged to come out and go farther. But wanting room, the compass of ground still growing less and less for them, the different kinds of beasts began to mix with one another, so that some became furious, and tormented the soldiers greatly; and it was not without much trouble that their shots, and the sound of the several instruments, drove them away.

A great number of beasts being fled to the mountains, parties of hunters and soldiers were detached to drive them thence; which was not done without much difficulty, they often resisting, and it being not permitted the soldiers to wound them. Other parties descending the precipices, which served for a retreat to some certain animals, had no less trouble to put them to flight; yet there was not a cave or wood in which they left one beast. During this time, the couriers went continually from every different quarter to advertise the Grand Can of all that past in the chase, and to give him news of the Princes, several of whom, hunters-like, shared of the diversion, which the

several motions and confusion the beasts were in, gave them in the chace. The Emperor, who had something else in view besides the pleasure of these sports, went often himself to observe the troops, to see whether his orders were exactly followed, and they were not remiss in their duty.

The space of ground growing each day less and less, and the wild beast being unable to get farther, leaped upon the weakest, and tore them in pieces. But their fury did not last long; for being chased on every side, and beginning to have no room left but that spot of ground where they could be seen all together, the Lieutenant of the master-huntsman caused the drums and timbrels to be beat, and all the other kinds of instruments to be played upon: all which, joined with the shouts and cries of the huntsmen and soldiers, so affrighted the beasts, that they lost all their fierceness. The lions and tigers grew gentle, the bears and wild boars, like the most timorous beasts, seemed cast down, and amazed.

Then the Grand Can seeing all these animals together in a little space of ground, which the Moguls call Gerke, ordered them to prepare themselves to march into it. He entered the first, with the sound of trumpets, holding in one hand his naked sword, and in the other his bow. He had his quiver full of arrows hanging across his shoulder, and was attended by some of his sons, and all his General Officers. He himself began the slaughter, striking the fiercest beasts, of which some became furious, and endeavoured to defend their lives. At last he retreated to an eminence, seating himself upon a throne which was prepared for him; and from thence he observed the strength and agility of the Princes his children, and all his officers who attacked the beasts. Whatever danger they ran, yet no one avoided it, or gave back, but rather showed more eagerness, well knowing that the Grand Can by this would judge of their merit. All the young soldiers, after the Princes and Lords, entered into the Gerke, and made a great slaughter of the beasts.

Then Genghizcan's grandsons, followed by several young Lords of the same age, presented themselves before the throne, and by a speech made after their manner, desired the Emperor to give the beasts

that remained their lives and liberty; which he granted them, praising the valour of his troops, who were immediately dismissed, and sent back to their quarters. At the same time the beasts which had escaped the scymeters and arrows, seeing themselves no longer surrounded, got away, and regained their woods and dens. Thus the hunting at Termed ended, which lasted four months, and had continued much longer, if it had not been feared that the spring would surprize them whilst employed in these sports, when the war must be prosecuted. At length the spring of the year 1221, drew near, and the Carizmean troops being already arrived, they had not a long time to rest; for Genghizcan put himself at the head of his troops about the end of March, to pass over the Oxus, and afterwards went towards Badriana, where the Sultan Gelaleddin had got an army together.



THE MOGUL GENERALS' EXPEDITION TO NISA, CAEN-
DAR AND DAMEGAN.

BEFORE the hunting began, the Emperor had sent a reinforcement of twenty thousand men of the best troops to Hubbe Nevian, and Suida Behadeur, the better to enable them to succeed in the enterprizes he designed they should undertake the next year. These two Generals were on the northern confines of Corassana, when they received their master's orders. Whilst they waited for the reinforcements he was to send them, which were now on their march thither, they divided the troops they already had, and Hubbe went towards Mazendran, and Suida took the road to Helvas.

After they had ravaged both these countries, they returned into Corassana, where Suida remained watching a Mahometan Lord, whose name was Ainangecan, who was one of Sultan Mehomed's officers, and molested the Moguls with some troops he had got together, and often broke their measures. Suida found means to oblige him to fight; but the event proved unfortunate to the Moguls, for they were beaten and put to flight with their leaders. Whilst the Mahometan Lord was pursuing them, he met near Naeschivan a brigade of Tartars who were going to retire into that place. He fell upon them with his cavalry, and drove them into the ditch, where they were all drowned. Ainangecan by this exploit got some reputation. He alarmed the country so, that they dared not refuse him tribute. Some of the Sultan's troops who were disbanded, and lived in the woods, went and joined him. He marched to Nisa, the Governor of which was gone to Meccha, and got of his Lieutenant the tax-money of the year 1221, which he made use of to furnish what was needful for his little army. In the mean time, the reinforcements, which the Mogul Generals expected, arrived, led by Jafer Nevian, and Irca Nevian, who each of them commanded ten thousand men. Ainangecan was no sooner informed of it, but he retired to the mountains.

The city of Nisa being a hindrance to the conquest of Corassana, of which it was a part, Jafer and Irca

Nevian had orders to reduce that first. There was given them for a Lieutenant-General, an old experienced Captain, named Balcousch, who had the command of the van-guard. When the Moguls had invested the place, before they began the assault they sent to offer very reasonable terms to the Lieutenant who commanded in the Governor's absence. He did not absolutely reject their proposals; but during the treaty some of the inhabitants imprudently shot at the Moguls, and Balcousch being struck by an arrow in the breast, fell down dead. This accident, joined with the refusal they made to surrender the city, excited the Moguls to revenge the death of their General. Suida Béhaour pressed the two Nevians to begin the siege, and had materials brought to the camp for building twenty great engines to better the place.

The city of Nisa was situate, in the thirty ninth degree of latitude, in Corassiana, on the confines of the desert. It had in times past served as a frontier town to the Turks and Persians; and some say it was built by Darius Hystaspes King of Persia, whom the Turks called Guischtasbe. Sultan Mehomed usurped this city from the younger children of a Prince named Nasreddin, who was Sovereign of it. He caused the citadel to be pulled down, and by his order it was sowed with corn. But he afterwards permitted the inhabitants to rebuild it; and it being a place well fortified, they hoped it could hold out a long time. Behhabeddin, a minister of state to the deceased Sultan, had brought into this place all that he had most valuable, and was retired hither with his son, and several Carizmeans who chose to follow him.

When the siege was formed, and the engines fixed in the proper places on all sides, they began the battering of the city. The besieged defended themselves with all the courage imaginable; and throwing from their walls abundance of wild-fire, the besiegers, that they might be able to approach nigh enough, caused their slaves to carry on their backs great pieces of woods, called Haracas, which were covered with wet skins. They pursued their assaults day and night; and at last, after fifteen days' siege, they made a breach, which the besieged were not able to repair. In the night they seized the walls, from whence the besieged

could not repel them; and the next day, being masters of the place, they went into all the houses, making the inhabitants go out of them into a plain, to suffer the chastisement they had reserved for them. The unfortunate victims were no sooner assembled in the plain, but the Mogul army surrounded them, to hinder their retreating to the mountains. Then they shot a great number of darts and arrows upon them with which they were overwhelmed, and were even more miserable than the beasts at the chase of Termed, some of which escaped death; but these poor people all perished, and were left either dead or mortally wounded in the field, to serve for food to the wild beasts and fowls of prey. 'Tis reported that there were this day seventy thousand persons killed, of the natives, strangers and peasants, who had took shelter in this city. As for the minister Schehabeddin and his son, they were put to death after another manner; they were led in chains to the Nevians, who caused the coffers to be opened in which were the vizier's treasures; and after the Nevians had taken out all that was in them, they caused the heads of the father and son to be struck off. At this day there is to be seen Schehabeddin's tomb in a place called Hafna.

Three days after the Moguls had taken and plundered Nisa, they went to besiege the citadel of Caendar. This place was accounted the strongest in Corassana, and was in the road from Nisa to Nischabour. They were desirous to gain this place, not only as it was a hindrance to their conquering the rest, but also because they were informed that Nezameddin, one of the greatest Lords of that kingdom, was retired thither with all his riches. In truth, Mehomed Nisavi, the author of the history of the life of Sultan Gelaeddin, to whom this place belonged, (tho' he took upon him only the title of Governor of this place under the Sultan) has writ, that Nezameddin, some days before the arrival of the enemies there, visited this place and esteeming it almost impregnable because of its situation, said to him, We will wait the Tartars coming here. Notwithstanding which, this Lord, when he saw they attacked it on the weakest side, was so frightened that he desired the Governor to let him down with ropes into the plain, at a place where the besiegers could not perceive him:

which Mehomed Nisavi did, and Nezameddin by his good fortune retired elsewhere.

The besiegers battered the place a long time; but the besieged made so brave a defence, that at last the Mogul General, being sensible of the strength of the citadel, despaired of taking it with the troops they had, and so resolved to raise the siege, and were content only to send a trumpeter to demand of the Governor, clothes and other things of which the soldiers stood in need. Mehomed Nisavi thought it was better to gratify them than to provoke them to continue the siege, by refusing what they asked; he therefore caused all things to be looked for that the city could afford proper to send them. But the difficulty was to find officers that would venture to accompany those who carried this present; because it was believed that the Moguls and Tartars were cruel enough to revenge themselves on the officers they should get in their power, for the shameful retreat they saw themselves reduced to make. After a great many persons had refused the employment, two venerable old men presented themselves; and having recommended their children to their fellow-citizens, put themselves at the head of those who carried the present. But they were no sooner carried before the General, and had presented what they brought, but the Moguls were really so base as to imbrue their hands in the blood of these old men. At last the siege was raised, and the country ravaged by the two Nevians. After which Suida himself came to meet them, and they all three went to Hubbe Nevian, who was busied on another expedition. They marched by the desert and other roads to Damegane, to attack it, which was a considerable town situate in thirty-six degrees and twenty minutes latitude.

They had not much trouble to take it, because all the rich men and nobility were retired with their best effects into the woods and mountains which at some distance encompassed the city. It was situate in a vast plain, watered by many brooks of clear wholesome water, which sprung out of the rocks. These streams were for their Excellency called the water of Cosroes, because that King of Persia conveyed them

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by fine aqueducts into this city, and would always drink of them, in whatsoever part of his empire he resided. It was in the orchards and gardens of Damegane those apples grew that were so much esteemed for their beauty and taste, which they carried in former ages into the Parthians country to grace the table of the rich and great.

* From Damegane, which the Moguls found quite deserted, and nothing left to content their avarice, they went before Amol, which they easily reduced, as also several other towns in the eastern Tabarestan, which was part of the antient Hircania. The city of Amol was in thirty six degrees and thirty-five minutes of latitude. It was in this country that Thalestris, Queen of the Amazons, came to visit Alexander the Great. She was attended by three hundred women, and staid thirty days with the Macedonian hero; and tho' at first sight she found not his person answerable to the reputation he had gained, yet at last she told him that she thought him worthy to give heirs to her kingdom.

* Some have called *Comas* or *Comisene* the province of which *Damegane* was the capital.



C H A P. XXIX.

THE TAKING OF THE FORTRESS OF YLALE. THE CAPTIVITY OF THE QUEEN TURCAN-CATUN, THE MOTHER OF SULTAN MEHOMED. THE CONQUEST OF THE CITIES OF REI, COM, AND OTHER PLACES IN THE PERSIAN HIRCANIA.

HUBBE Nevian on his part made an expedition no less famous and successful than that of the other Generals. He reduced not only the western part of Tabarestan, which he called Mazendrane, but he even seized upon the Sultaneß, who was retired there with her immense riches, which was one of the things Genghizcan most passionately wished for. It is true, the Emperor gave him the informations and instructions of which he stood in need for this Prince, whose vigilance was such that nothing could escape his knowledge, having spies, or correspondents, in every place who gave him intelligence of all that passed, had by the means of one of his spies, learned that the Queen mother was retired into the fortress of Ylale: he presently dispatched a courier to Hubbe, to acquaint him with it, giving him leave to run all hazards to take this place, and to borrow, if there was occasion, forces of the other Generals.

Hubbe failed not to execute his Prince's orders. He besieged this strong place in form; but he had for three months bettered it in vain, when the Grand Can being informed of the condition the place was in, and thence concluded that he might more easily reduce it by famine, ordered Hubbe to cause a strong wall to be built without side his lines, with gates to be kept shut in the night, and open in the day, and to take care that guard was strictly kept in all places, that the place should receive no succours. These the Emperor's last orders were as punctually executed as the first, and the citadel received no kind of succours. Yet three weeks more passed, and the Governor had no thoughts of yielding; but boasted, as they learned from the deserters who came over to them, that he stood not in need of any thing. But this was a false report, for the place had wanted water a long time, and one part of the garrison and inhabitants were already dead with thirst, and all other sorts of provisions grew by degrees

extremely scarce, and at last entirely failed ; so that the Queen was forced to capitulate.

The want of water past in the country for a miracle, because this place was always known to be better furnished with it, than any other in Mazendrane, rain commonly falling there every day; and yet there fell not one drop during the whole siege. They therefore said publicly that it was a judgment of God to punish the Queen for having unjustly put to death so many Princes and Kings. And what confirmed the Mahometans in their opinion of this drought being miraculous, was, that the place was no sooner surrendered, but there fell such abundance of rain, that the cisterns overflowed, and the water ran out of the gates of the citadel in a flood.

Hubbe Nevian knowing the extremities to which the place was reduced, could not grant any thing to the Queen but her life ; and he declared that he expected to have all things else left to his discretion, and they were forced to yield to his terms. So soon as the Moguls were entered the place, they seized of all the Queen's treasure, and treated this Princess as a captive. They sent her to Genghizcan under a strong and safe guard, with her women and grand children, and all the Lords of the empire who had retired with her into the fortrefs of Ylale. One may say she was herself the cause of her ill fortune, or rather that the hatred she bore her grandson Gelaleddin ruined her : for when she heard that Sultan Mehomed had at his death declared him his heir, she was even distracted. And some days before this place was besieged, having found away to retire with safety to this young Prince, she would not make her advantage of this opportunity, whatever remonstrances her officers made to her. That in vain represented, that Gelaleddin was her son's child, and consequently a part of her self, and that his valour might still dispute the fate of his father's kingdoms with Genghizcan. Instead of being persuaded by these arguments, she did nothing but wish all sorts of misfortunes to Gelaleddin, protesting she would never stoop to so base a thing, as she called it, as to put herself under the protection of the son of Algeac, her mortal enemy ; and that she would even prefer any slavery before all that Gelaleddin could do.

to serve her: that the lowest condition, and the most rigorous treatment would be more agreeable to her than all the marks of friendship she could receive from him.

These were the sentiments of the implacable Queen Turcan-Catun; but God punished her, and to mortify her pride, reduced her to suffer the most insupportable treatment: for the Grand Can sometimes had her brought into his presence when he was at table, and threw her bits of the meat which he had eat of, as if she had been a dog. What mortification must this be to a woman who but a little before could confer her favours, and whose sovereign command, made the most part of the Kings and Princes of the east to tremble.

They put to death her son's grandsons before she arrived and left only the youngest alive to comfort her; nay, it was not long before they tore that from her also; for one day, as she was combing his head, a person came and snatched him away from her arms. She said she was more sensibly touched with this loss than with any she had before felt, and her grief for it was most bitter. He met with the same fate as his brothers. The young Princesses her great granddaughters were not so unfortunate; not only their lives were spared; but they were even married to Mogul Lords of the first rank; and Prince Touschi espoused Cam Sultane, who had before been married to Osman Cam, Prince of Samarcand. This was the fate of this great Queen, who was led, as in triumph, some years after, thro' the same countries where she had governed.

But to return to the expedition of Hubbe Nevian, after he left the strong fortress of Ylale, he went directly to Rei, where Suaid and the other Mogul commanders came to join him in their return from Corassana, of which they had reduced both the north and west parts, excepting Nischaour, which according to the capitulation granted them by the two Generals, remained quiet till Gelaeddin took shelter there.

The city Rei, which was situate in Yree Agemi, or the Persian-Hircania, five days journey from Nischaour, in thirty-five degrees and thirty-five minutes of

latitude, seemed able to make a vigorous defence; but the Moguls easily took it. The inhabitants were divided into two factions: one of which followed the doctrines of Abouhanifa, one of the four doctors who were the heads of the four pretended Orthodox sects amongst the Mehometans; and the others were attached to the opinions of doctor Schafay. So soon as the Cady of the city, who was of the last sect, was informed that Hubbe was coming, he went out to meet him with the chief of his sect, and offered him the place in the name of all Schafay's Sectaries. Hubbe accepted this offer with joy, promising to spare all, that were of that belief. By this means he entered without trouble into the city by two gates, of which the faction of Schafay were masters. But the other party had fortified themselves, and made some resistance, more out of hatred to the Schafaites, than to the Moguls themselves. But General Hubbe forced them to yield, and induced by the ill opinion the Cady had created in him of the sect of Abouhanifa, put them almost all to death; so that not above one half of the inhabitants of Rei were left alive.

Before this, Hubbe imagining he had not troops sufficient to take this place, sent to Suida, who soon came and joined him. These two Generals remained some time at Rei, invited by the beauty of that city, which was one of the four most considerable in Yrac Agemi: the three others were Hamadan, Com, and Ispahan. So soon as the season permitted to take the field, they again parted; Hubbe marched to Hamadan, and Suida to Casbin. The first, before he marched to the city of Com, which was twenty leagues off from Rei, encamped in a great plain wherein it stood. This plain was sixteen leagues long, and as many broad. He summoned the town to surrender; and they made so resistance, that they might justly have deserved the mercy which was granted the places that opened their gates to him: but the deputies of the Schafaites, having an implacable hatred for the Hanafites, whom they called Rafezis, that is to say, Kereticks, told Hubbe Nevian, whom they always accompanied, because he much confided in them, that the people of Com were very mutinous, at which one need not wonder, since they followed the doctrines of

Abouhanifa, and in fine, they so incensed him against the inhabitants of this city, that the Mogul General, under the pretext that one of his orders had not been well observed, caused the greatest part of them to be killed or carried away slaves. After which, Com was plundered.

This city was situate in thirty-four degrees and forty-five minutes of latitude, about the middle of the way between Casbin and Ispahan. Altho' this place had been very much defaced, it has been since perfectly repaired, some Kings having kept their Court there; and there are still to be seen the Tombs of two Kings of Persia, Schah-Sefi and Schah Abbas II. which Tombs are very magnificent. Hubbe departed from Com, some few days after, and marched to Hamadan, having made preparations for besieging it. So soon as he arrived in its neighbourhood, and had made all things ready to storm this place, all of a sudden he made a peace with Magededdin who commanded it: at which the army were the more surprized, because these people had appeared more insolent than others who had not been pardoned; nay, they had even committed some outrages on the Moguls. The General's enemies reported that he had suffered himself to be corrupted; but his friends maintained that he had only followed the Grand Can's orders.

Humadan was situate in thirty-five degrees and ten minutes of Latitude, fifty leagues distant from Com. 'Twas a great and populous city, and had often been the abode of Kings. At the time when the Moguls approached it, it had very strong walls, and a good castle, which is now in ruins. Its beauty at present consists in its gardens and fountains, which take their rise from the mountain Alvende, not far from this place, and where there are to the number of a thousand springs. The Persians say, this city was built by Jemschide, one of the first Kings of the antient Persians.

Hubbe Nevian led his troops thence to Dinever, Carmisin, Souvan, Halvan, Nehavende, and several other towns in Yrac Agemi, of which he rendered himself master, and got great riches. As for Suida Behadeur, who was gone to besiege the city of Casbin,

situate on the confines of Deilem, he carried it by storm, and put to the sword fifty thousand persons, in this city, Deilem, and other the adjacent countries. The inhabitants of Ispahan by a quick submission prevented the last extremities of war. Cassin was situate in the thirty-seventh degree of latitude, between Rei and Abbar. All these expeditions were made in the year of our Lord 1221, and of the Hegira 618, at the time when Philip Augustus was King of France, and Henry III. King of England. Genghis was then sixty-seven years old.



C H A P. XXX.

GENGHIZCAN'S EXPEDITION TO THE COUNTRY OF BALC,
ANCIENTLY CALLED BACTRIANA. THE SIEGE OF
TALCAN.

WHILST Genghizcan made war in Transoxiana, and his Lieutenants subdued the countries of the antient Parthians, Gelaleddin, son of the King of Carazme, was in the eastern parts of Corassana, called Balc, or Bactriana, where he got together some troops. He dwelt many weeks in the city of Balc, which was the capital, as it had been in times past when it was called Bactra.

The favourable reception the inhabitants of this city gave Prince Gelaleddin, displeased Genghizcan, and conceived in him a mortal hatred against them. And this Emperor's army being extremely formidable, how valiant soever the Prince of Carizme was, yet he did not care to tempt his fate by venturing a battle, but remained in this country only to fatigue the Moguls with the troops he had with him: to accomplish which, he made use of all the advantages the narrow lanes and passages, the woods and rivers could afford an able General, who found himself much inferior in strength to his enemy.

At last the Grand Can having secured all the countries situate beyond the Oxus, caused his army pass over this river, and led them with all the speed imaginable to the city of Balc. The great success of this fortunate conqueror, the numerous troops that followed him, and fame, which magnifies every thing, all put together, soon determined the inhabitants to open their gates to him, without staying to feel his fury. The great Lords of the country who had retired thither, went out with the city officers to meet him, and make their submissions to him, carrying with them an infinite number of rich presents. But he rejected their offers, and said, that people who had so kindly received and entertained his enemy, could not have a sincere friendship for him, and that their protestations were faithless. He recounted to them the particulars wherein they had assisted Gelaleddin: he mentioned the troops they

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had raised for him even in their city, the sums of money they had furnished him withal to pay his army: in fine, being fully informed by his spies, how far they had assisted Gelaeddin, he forgot not to remember to them every particular. Then he reproached them in this manner: ought you not, said he, to blush for shame, for having so little love for your natural Prince, and so little aversion to the tyrants who have put him in Irons? Is it thus you ought to treat those who after having stripped amededdin your Sovereign of his kingdoms, have cruelly put him and his son to death? mean time, the Mogul army marched to the city, and the inhabitants, knowing it was agreed to open the gates, did not shut them against the vanguard, which their leaders would have gone into the city. So that the Emperor seeing himself master of the places caused an order to be published, commanding all the men immediately to go forth of the city into the plain. They obeyed, tho' they were not ignorant what the Moguls were used to do after their taking a city. When they were all assembled, the Grand Can caused the young people who were fit for slaves to be set in a place apart, and ordered the greatest part of the old men to be beheaded. Then the city was plundered, and the booty distributed according to the Mogul law. The walls were beaten down, and the castle demolished. The Mogul army was greatly enriched by this city's ruin; for there were all sorts of merchandize and treasure in Balch, because it had always been a place of great trade. Moreover, it was full of monuments of exquisite workmanship, and all things that could serve to adorn so great a city, it having been the abode of many illustrious persons famous in all arts, who had much contributed to its beauty. The publick buildings were spacious and regular. The caravanferas, or inns to lodge the caravans in, appeared magnificent, as did also the colleges and mosques; and, according to Mirconde's report, there were no less than twelve hundred baths or hot-houses, in this city.

- It was situate in thirty-six degrees and forty one minutes of latitude, in a most fertile plain, four leagues distant from the mountains, and eight from the Oxus. The country round it was planted with sugar-canes

and lemon-trees. Schicardus assures us it was first built by Cayumaras, one of the Pischdadien Kings*, who was the first that reigned in Persia and Media. It was afterwards ruined by Semiramis, as Diodorus of Sicily reports, and repaired by Loraspe the father of Hydaspes, as Herodotus assures us, at the same time that Nebuchodonosor ruined the city of Jerusalem. Its suburbs were watered by a river called Dehac, which having run thro' all the country, discharges itself into the river Oxus, about twelve leagues from the city. It is to this day one of the capital cities of the Uzbecks, and has its particular Sovereign, who wants not forces, as well as the other Princes of his nation, to oppose the Persians when they make war with them.

After the Mogul Emperor had thus reduced the city of Balc to his obedience, he sent detachments out of his army to India and Persia, and left a considerable part of his troops in Transoxiana to keep it in awe, whilst he went to Tocaristan to besiege the city of Talcan; which was but seven days journey from Balc, and was esteemed the strongest city in all Asia for its situation; it being built upon a very steep mountain called No-croouh. But he had but just began the siege, when he had information that the Sultan Gelaleddin, not finding himself in a condition to venture a battle, was retired towards the strongest places of Corassana with what forces he had been able to get together, and that it was believed he was already got to Nischabour. On this news he detached sixty-thousand men to pursue him, and prevent his making any farther progress; he joined these with another detachment of twenty-thousand men, whom he had a little before sent into Mazendrane to recruit the army of the Generals Hubbe and Suida; which when they first went on their expeditions consisted of thirty-thousand Moguls, and was now diminished by the loss of ten-thousand. He gave the command of this great detachment to Prince Tuli, and ordered him to go find out the Sultan Gelaleddin, and to besiege the city of Nischabour, if he was still there; but if he was gone thence, to lay siege to Merou before he undertook any thing against Nischabour or Herat;

* That is to say, the first of the Kings of Persia.

to the end he might weaken Goraffana as much as he possibly could, and so facilitate the conquering the rest of this country, in which the other Generals had already taken some towns.

Whilst Tuli went to execute his father's commands, Genghizcan planted the engines before Talcan, he vigorously attacked, but the besieged defended themselves with great resolution. They answered his engines with theirs, and threw fire for fire. All who were in the place strove to outvie each other in bravery; and having a great store of ammunition, and provisions of all sorts, they flattered themselves they should be able to hold out a long time. Besides which, the besiegers had neither ground nor trenches to shelter them when they made their attacks; they had only some blinds to defend them from the darts and wildfire. The besieged killed so great a number of them, that the emperor's army was considerably diminished. This Prince repented his having meddled with this place, yet could not bear to be disappointed; and fearing he had not troops enough to reduce it, he sent two couriers, one after another, to Tuli, with orders to return to him forthwith, without mentioning his reasons for so doing: He only told him he recalled him because of the excessive heats which now began to be sensibly felt. In the mean time, the Grand Can. made his army rest for some weeks, and took care they were well fed, which perfectly recovered and put them in good heart.

He then called all the engineers together, to consult with them of the means by which they might be able to reduce Talcan; but the methods they proposed seeming to him very uncertain, he resolved to scale the mountain on all sides, let the danger be what it would, that so he might oblige the besieged, being every where assaulted, to divide their forces. In order to this, he caused to be made with all speed, a great number of grappling-irons, long nails, hooks, ladders, and ropes, to ascend the rock, and made many vain attempts to scale it several times; for the besieged, who kept on their guard, received the Moguls with their usual bravery, and killed a very great number of them. Yet Genghizcan had them supported with so many sorts of engines when they

mounted the ladders, that at last a great many soldiers were got together on the top of the mountain with their arms, which they had fastened round them; which so astonished the besieged, that running hastily to repulse them, they imprudently left some posts unguarded, of which the Moguls immediately seized, and entered the town. The besieged soon having notice of this misfortune, returned in confusion to oppose their enemies, and drive them out; but the Moguls were too strong for them, and put them all to the sword; and being animated by the remembrance of the fatigues they had suffered for seven months past, which time the siege had lasted, they exercised all the cruelties imaginable.

Talcan was situate between Merou and Balc, in thirty seven degrees and twenty-five minutes of latitude, and dependant on Tocarestan. The first city of this name, which had been heretofore very flourishing, was not standing in the time of Genghizcan, and there was nothing left to be seen of it but the citadel, which a Prince of Pocarestan had caused to be built on the top of the mountain Nocrecoh, so called because of the mines of silver which it enclosed. This citadel being very large, they gave it the title of a city or fortress, with the name of Talcan. Thus the Emperor took this place without Prince Tuli's assistance, who did not arrive before its reduction. The Princes Oqai and Zagatai also returned from Carizme at the same time; but Pouschi was gone to his Governments. We shall now make mention of what Tuli did during the seven months that he was gone from the Emperor.



PRINCE TULI'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SULTAN GE-
LALEDDIN, SON OF SULTAN MEHOMED. THE SIEGES
OF THE CITIES OF MEROU AND NISCHABOUR.

PRINCE Tuli was no sooner entered Corassana, but he sent orders to twenty thousand men, of whom we have spoke before, to hold themselves always in a readiness to join him in case of need. He sent word also to Hubbe and Suida to come to him; and after having consulted with them about the enterprizes he designed to undertake, he sent them back into Persia, where their troops were encamped.

'Tis true Gelaleddin had taken the road to Nischabour with all the troops he had, designing there to get such an army together as should be able to resist the Moguls. For this purpose he staid a whole month in the city, having writ to the Governors of the frontier-towns, and other places which were still obedient to him, to send him all the soldiers they could furnish; and ordered the Lords who in the confusion his empire now was in, had made themselves masters of the provinces they lived in, to come and join him with speed, with all the troops they could possibly raise. He assured them in his letters, that he would never think of what was past, but would confirm them in the possession of the Governments they had gotten; and he thence dispatched messenger upon messenger to get his orders performed.

Prince Tuli did not give him time to get a great army together, but marched towards him with extraordinary diligence. So soon as Gelaleddin was informed of his being entered into Corassana, and that he was marching towards Nischabour, he went out of this city, and it was as much as he could do, to conduct the troops he had with him in safety to the fortress of Cahera, where he received the news of Talcan's being besieged. Tho' Gelaleddin was brave and wise, yet he was at this time almost distracted. He cursed his fate, which seemed now bent against him, and yielded himself up to despair. He had an inclination to shut himself up in Cahera, and wait the Moguls coming; but the Governor persuaded him from this design represent-

ing to him, that a Prince of his reputation and merit ought not to shut himself up in forts and citadels, tho' they were built on the heads of the twin-stars, or horns of taurus or the pleiades. These are the words of the historian Nisavi.

This bold remonstrance awakened the Prince's courage, who straight caused to be brought to him all the money he had saved, to distribute to his soldiers. After which, he went to the city of Bost, in the province of Segestan, where he found one of the officers of his army who had escaped the massacre of Balq, and he informed him of the forces Genghizcan had with him before Talcen and in other places, and told him it was believed he had near eight hundred thousand men in pay, including the garrisons he had in the cities.

This news made Gelaleddin tremble, who comparing his own weakness with the enemy's strength that pursued him, wished, says marrakefschi, that thick darkness would cover the whole world, and take place of the light.

Tuliccan after a long march into Corassina, learned that Gelaleddin was gone from Nischabour, and therefore according to the Emperor his father's orders, he took a resolution to go and besiege Merou. So soon as it was known in this city that his army approached, factions and dissensions began to arise. A general council was held, where some, to support their advice which was to yield, reasoned thus, that all the countries and places which had resisted, were entirely ruined; others, who were willing to defend the city, represented to the assembly, to support their opinion, the cruelties executed on the inhabitants of Balq, who had submitted. After many disputes, the Musty's party, who were resolved to surrender the place, carried it against the Cady's, who opposed it, and protested against all that should be done contrary to the interest of the city.

The Musty's party immediately sent deputies to meet the Mogul General, who received them kindly, and granted them the conditions they desired, which was, not to enter the city with more than seven thousand men, on condition that the people should obey, and pay the Grand Can the yearly tribute then to be agreed on. But it so happened during these transactions, that a certain

Turk named Bouga, who had been Captain of the Sultan Mehomed's guides, knowing it was resolved by some to surrender the city, entered into it, and fully resolved to defend it. The Turcomans, whose number were considerable, supported him; and the Cady's party, who wished no better, joined with them. Bouga had for some days the absolute command of all, and finding how sweet it was to govern a great people, resolved to spare nothing that could secure him in the post which fortune had raised him to. Therefore when Megir, a great Lord who had belonged to the old Sultan's Court, a man who had the greatest part of his estate in that country, and a palace in the city, would have come into it, Bouga used all his endeavours to keep him out; but that Lord entered in spite of him, and all the Cady's party chose rather to obey him than Bouga, who was soon forced to quit a station which he had found so agreeable in the few days he enjoyed it.

Megir was the son of a lady whom Sultan Mehomed had loved, and afterwards given in marriage to one of his courtiers. He put himself at the head of those who seemed resolved to defend the place; and notwithstanding the Musty's party opposed it, the gates of the city were shut, and preparations made to maintain a siege. Mean time, Prince Tuli came up, and encamped before the walls of the city, and disposed all things to assault it. He learned by some prisoners that were taken and brought before him, the state of the place, and promised himself to be soon master of it, yet he found more resistance than he expected. Megir tried the besiegers with frequent sallies, amongst which he made one so successful, that he cut above a thousand of the Grand Can's best household troops in pieces. Tuli much regretted these brave men, and to be revenged, gave a general assault, which the besieged sustained with a most amazing resolution, and the Moguls were repulsed with loss for twenty-two days together: in which time the besieged were greatly weakened, and Megir finding that he should soon be overcome, chose to submit. Gemaleddin, one of the chief men of the city, was of his opinion; and both having persuaded their faction to it, sent great presents to Tuli, offering him the city. The Mogul

Prince treated them better than they expected; for he gave them protection for their goods and four hundred of their friends, on condition that they gave him a faithful account of all the rich people in the city, which they did, giving him a list of them. After which, the Moguls entered the place, and according to their usual custom, made all the inhabitants go forth of it, one part of whom they made slaves of, and they cut the throats of the rest. Pulican gave the Government of Merou to Ziaeddin, a Lord of that country, who had done him considerable services. But when the Mogul Prince was gone away from this city, Ziaeddin was killed by Barmaze his Lieutenant, and the city fell again into confusion.

The city of Merou, called also Schahigehan, was situate in thirty-seven degrees and forty minutes of latitude, to the northward of another city called Merou Erroud, and from which it was but five leagues distant. Schahigehan signifies King of the World; and this name was given to the city because Sultan Maliccha, one of the greatest of the Seljakides, extremely loved it, by reason of its fine situation, the serenity of the air, and the fertility of the ground. He had caused it to be built with design to make it the place of his residence, and accordingly pass the greatest part of his life in it, and died there, for whom they erected a most magnificent tomb.

This city produced several learned men, and Jacut assures us that he had seen there three publick libraries, in one of which there were twelve thousand volumes in manuscript. Some will have it that this city was first built by Tahmuras, the fourth of the first Kings of Persia, called Pischdadian; and others say it was built by Jamani, the daughter of Artaxerxes Yongimanus King of Persia. It was situate in a sandy plain, which produced salt. Three rivers rendered it a delicious Place; and it was equally distant, that is, twelve days journey, from Nischabour, Herat, Balch, and Bocara.

Since the death of Sultan Mehomed, the Moguls under the conduct of the Generals Hubbe Nevian and Suida Behadeur, had rendered themselves masters

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of all the western parts of Corassana, by taking a great number of cities: but they had still left Nischabour in peace, because at the beginning of their expedition, as has been before related, they had made a treaty with the inhabitants of this city, who had sworn fidelity to them. Nevertheless, when they saw Gelaeddin, the son of the Sultan their master, appear in their country, they were so touched with seeing this Prince wander from one province to another, that they could not refrain from giving him some assistance, and secretly furnished him with all the refreshments of which his troops stood in need. Nay, they even gave him money to raise forces. Nischabour took all the precaution imaginable to hide what they did for him. And in effect, Tulican came not to the knowledge of it: but by misfortune the Grand Can was informed of it by his spies, and was so enraged, that he resolved that he would besiege Nischabour. He wrote to Prince Tuli, who was then in the eastern parts of Corassana, to lay aside all his other designs, and go and besiege Nischabour, and make them feel the severest chastishments that should be inflicted on rebellious cities. On the receipt of these orders, Prince Tulican quitted the country of Merour, of which he had just before taken the capital, and went to Nischabour, the inhabitants of which not hoping for any pardon or mercy, resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity. The command of the vanguard of the Moguls was given to Prince Tatar, who had brought the troops from Mazendran: but this Captain, at his arrival at Nischabour, had the misfortune to be wounded with an arrow in the neck, so a fellow, which the inhabitants made upon the Moguls, and died of his wound. This accident obliged Tuli to take more care and precaution than he had before done to render his enterprise successful. He deferred the siege for some days, because the engines were not ready, and made his army encamp to the eastward of the city, near a town called Fouschaniab. The country round it was full of pleasant springs and other things, and here the workmen could conveniently make blinde, battering-rams, and other instruments for war. So soon as all was ready, they battered the city with above twelve hundred engines. The besieged defended it like lions, but after three days siege the Moguls having perceived a secret passage

which the ruins of a wall falling down discovered, entered by that way, and surprized the place, making a terrible slaughter of the inhabitants. They spent a day and a night in plundering this miserable city, and reduced to slavery an infinite number of young people; nay the greatest part of all those who escaped the edge of the sword, died under ground in caves and vaults, which they had made to save the selves in: in fine, all the city was destroyed and there was nothing left standing neither mosques, fortresses, houses, towers, nor walls, all was razed to the very foundations, and they levelled the ground in such a manner, that if the history of Corassana may be credited, horses might run over it without stumbling. It is also related that they spent twelve days in counting the dead who belonged to the city, and that comprehending those who were slain in some other places which belonged to Nischabour, where Tuli sent some of his troops, it is computed that the Moguls killed to the number of seventeen hundred and forty seven thousand persons; which seems altogether incredible, at least if they do not comprehend in this number all those who perished in the ruins, and in some other towns which were dependant on Nischabour, and taken at the same time.

After the destruction of this city, Tulicani received an order from the Emperor, his father, to repair to him. Nischabour had often been in the capital city of Corassana. One Historian pretends that it took its original from Sapor King of Persia, who had caused it to be built, and surnamed it the closet of the east, because in his time it was full of all sorts of curiosities, which its great trade drew into it. And tho' the Moguls had put it into the condition we have just before related, yet in some time after it was restored to its former greatness, being rebuilt, and all things done that could contribute to adorn a city; and the finest water in the world, which sprung from the neighbouring mountains was brought into it by canals. It is out of these mountains that they get the oriental Turquoise stones, which are called in the Levant, Pirouze Nischabouri, to distinguish them from others. This city was but twelve leagues from Tous, or thereabouts, where the celebrated Nassir Eddin Tusi, a great astronomer, and author of certain Ephemerides, was born, as like.

wise many other learned men. This Nafir puts the situation of these two city in thirty seven degrees of latitude. Tous was only a little more to the south east of Nischabour. The city of Tous was at the same time ruined by the Moguls, but it was rebuilt a few years afterwards, and has been since this misfortune one of the most beautiful and most celebrated cities in the Persian empire. Ismael Sesevi, the first King of the family of Sesevi's, that is to say, of the descendants of Schet. Sesi, who at that time reigned in Persia, caused it to be enclosed with strong walls, and three hundred towers. This King then made it the capital of Corassana, by the name of Melsched, and as several other Princes before him had chose to have their tombs there, so he chose to have his: and many of his successors, after his example, have been buried there.

When Prince Tuli had finished the sieges of Nischabour and Tous, he led his army before Herat, whither he had been told that Gelaleddin was retired; but it was a false information, for this Prince had taken the road to Bost, a city in the province of Segestan, and had no thoughts of retiring to Herat, which was governed by a Mahometan Lord, who tho' he was his subject, yet was his enemy: this Lord's name was Schamfeddin. He had surprized this city in the absence of Emin Melic the Sultan's uncle, who possessed this country by agreement. And this Schamfeddin was not the only person who had been guilty of these sort of usurpations; for the greatest part of the Governors had done the same thing in the other provinces during the confusion the empire was in. And thus Sultan Gelaleddin was despoiled of almost all his provinces.

The Mogul General arrived at Herat in twelve days, and immediately laid siege to the city. Schamfeddin defended it courageously, and there past not a day in which he did not come to blows with the Moguls. And tho' this Lord was not generally beloved because of his usurpation; yet the advantages he daily gained over the besiegers, established his authority, and gave them hopes of good success; but the eighth day of the siege he was killed in fighting, and the inhabitants of Herat believing that no other amongst them was so well able to sustain the charge against the Moguls, resolved to yield, and

deputies were sent to Tuli, to make proposals. The resistance he had already met with before this city, and the bravery of the General, whose death he knew nothing of, made him condescend to terms with them, after he was well assured that Gelaleddin was not in the place. He required nothing of the inhabitants but to submit themselves, and swore that no man in the city should receive damage either in his goods or person, and told them they should every year pay to the Grand Can but one half of the tribute they used to pay to Sultan Mehomed. When the Moguls entered the city, they exactly observed this capitulation with respect to the people of Herat; but the garrison, and all the Officers belonging to the Sultan, who were to the number of twelve thousand, were put to death. Tulican made Aboubequir Governor of this city, and caused an oath of fidelity to be administered to the inhabitants, and with sixty thousand men went for Talcan, whither his father had recalled him.

Herat has always past for a very strong city and at present serves for a rampart to the Persians, and preserves their frontiers against the Uzbecks. It is situate on the river Heriroude, in the thirty fourth degree and thirty minutes of latitude, within two leagues of a mountain which had on its top a celebrated place, where the Persians with their Magi's went to worship the fire, and perform the other rights and ceremonies of their religion; which some worshippers of fire whom the Persians call Guebres, or Anteschpereft, to this day perform in a place built out of its ruins.

That particular country in which the city of Herat stood, was the aria of the antients. Alexander the Great was its founder, according to Mirconde's opinion; and it was no small honor to Herat, that it was the native country of this illustrious author, who has given the description of it in the oriental history, which he composed in the Persian language, entitled Raouzetessafa, that is to say, the Garden of Pleasure. The city and country is very populous. The inhabitants are for the most part honest and courteous people, and the air is excellent.

THE SIEGES OF THE CITIES OF BAMIAN, CANDAHAR,
FRONTIER-TOWNS OF INDIA ON THE SIDE OF PERSIA.

AFTER the taking of Talcan, the Emperor held several councils with Tulican his son, and caused his army to march towards Bamian, still waiting for news of Sultan Gelaeddin, and the troops whom he had sent towards India, to search for him, if he came that way, or take such places as might be useful to his farther designs.

The Sultan Gelaeddin staid long enough in the city of Bost to raise troops; but when he learned the strength of the Mogul army, he found himself in a great dilemma, and knew not what course to take, whether to resist or fly, both appearing equally dangerous. At last the extreme danger he was in awakened his courage, and he resolved to oppose his enemies, even to death. Thus determined, he departed from Bost, endeavouring to get into Gazna before the Moguls could arrive there to take it; so he led his army, which consisted of about twenty thousand men, towards Zebulestan, without staying in any place by the way, and arrived safely at Gazna, which was twenty-four days journey from Bost.

Gazna, which Ptolomy places in Quirman, was situate in thirty three degrees and five minutes of latitude, and had always been a city of great trade for all sorts of merchandize brought from Zagatal, Persia and India. It had been the capital of the Sultan Mahmoud Gaznavi's empire, the most potent Prince of all the east in the time that the Seljukides began to make any figure. A Lord called Kerber Melic commanded in this city, during the absence of the Sultan Gelaeddin; but the misfortunes of the Sultan his father had much alienated the minds of the people, so that there remained but little obedience in the people of Gazna, as well as in most other places. For which reason, some time before this Prince's arrival in that place, there had been many disturbances caused by the divisions amongst the great Lords. Yet the Sultan Gelaeddin was received in Gazna with all the affection that the people who passionately loved their King, could testify at his return after a long absence. The author who relates this, says, that the inhabitants were

as much overjoyed at his arrival, as the Mussulmen at the ends of the Ramadan, when the new moon, which puts an end to the fast, appears. The Prince would not mix sorrow with their joy, by punishing those who had been guilty of crimes against him, which he might justly have done but he dissimulated his resentment, and deferred till another time the punishment of their crimes.

The Grand Can having information that Gelaeddin was at Gazna, hastened his march, that he might surprize him; but he was stopped in Zabulestan by the garrison of Bamian, which he hoped to take without opposition, but it cost him more time and trouble than he imagined. The Governor absolutely refused to surrender, whatever summons were sent him, and protested that notwithstanding all the Moguls' menaces, he would defend the place to the last drop of its blood, since it was intrusted to him. This answer obliging Genghizcan to besiege it in form, he had many difficulties to surmount, because the inhabitants, having long expected to be attacked, had ruined all the country round about the city, to deprive the enemy of all means of subsistence. The very people of the province had carried away all the stones, and others that might be use to the besiegers; so that for four or five leagues round Bamian there was nothing to be found that could be of any service to the Moguls. They had just began to batter the place, when a courier arrived in the camp from the General who command the forces Genghizcan had sent towards India, to inform him of the total defeat of his army by Gelaeddin, which happened in the following manner.

Two or three days after Gelaeddin was got into the city of Gazna, he learnt that there were Moguls in that neighbourhood who besieged the city Candahar, and had orders to watch his motions. This news was the more afflicting to him, because he could not relieve the place; but he knew at the same time that Elmi Melic, the son of his uncle by the mother's side, was not far off from him. This Lord was come out of Herat, not only to watch the Moguls, whom he saw every where victorious; but also to seize of some places situate in the mountains in the neighbour

of Segeftan, which were very neceffary to be fecured, for the prefervation of Herat. on his abfence, Sehamfeddin, as we have faid before, commanded in this city.

Emin Melic had with him ten thousand Turkish horfe, all mounted, and well equipped all refolute men, Gelaleddin fent to compliment him, and let him know that he defired him to come to him fince they were fo near one another, and that if he would come, it muft be quickly, for there was no time to lofe. Emin Melic made no fcruple to go and offer him his fervice. The Sultan fhewed him all the demonstrations of friendship and confidence in him, and to try his fincerity, told him, that a body of Moguls were now before Candahar, and that he defigned to go and raife the fieve. Emin Melic confented to join his troops with the Sultan's. And thus agreed, the next day they began their march, conducted by fkilful and trufthy guides, having fent a man poft, before they fet out, to the Governor, to give him notice that he fhould be relieved. This perfon made fuch hafte, that he arrived at Candahar before the Citadel was taken. There he learnt by fome fpies the ftate of things; that the Moguls were no ways afraid of any fuccours arriving, and the befieged ftill made a vigorous defence, but that they were not able to do fo much longer.

Gelaleddin held a council to confider what was to be done; and it was refolved to attack the enemies in the dead of the night. In order to which, the troops marched without being difcovered, and fuprized the Moguls who were befieging the Citadel, having already taken and plundered the town. They finding themfelves briskly attacked by men who appeared to be brave, and not knowing their number, and at the fame time by the Governor, who came out of the Citadel upon them with all his garrifon, fuffered themfelves, as one may fay, to be killed without making any refiftance; fo much power has fear and fuprize over the minds of men, that it can intimidate the moft daring. In a few hours the town was feen full of dead bodies of Moguls and Tartars; and Gelaleddin having had the prudence to poft troops at all the avenues of the city, few of thofe who thought

to find safety by flight, escaped the sword of the Carizmeans. All the Mogul army that was at Candahar perished. The soldiers of the Sultan and Emin Melic, got the booty the enemies had acquired in their march thither; and had been greatly enriched, had they not been obliged to restore to the inhabitants one part of what the Moguls had taken from them, when they plundered the city. After this good success the Sultan endeavoured to animate his soldiers with further hopes. He repaired to Candahar, and returned to Gazna, which he entered in triumph. Emin Melic engaged himself, afresh to him, and promised Neva to abandon him, for which reason their troops did not separate. And this Lord ever after showed himself a good relation and a faithful servant to Gelaledin.



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PRINCE COUTOUCOU'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SEL-
TAN GELALEDIN. THE CONTINUATION OF THE
SIEGE OF BAMIAN.

THE news of this defeat was carried to Genghiz-
can by a Captain who had escaped from Candahar. This Prince was extremely afflicted, and resolved to be revenged as soon as possible. In order to which, he caused the attacks to be redoubled; but not being able to take Bamian so soon as desired, he determined to send Tulican against Gelaledin with an army of eighty thousand men. He was just going to send away this detachment out of his army, when another courier arrived, to advertise him of the revolt of the country of Herat, in breach of the treaty they had made with Prince Tulican. The Emperor was greatly enraged: he ordered this Prince to be called before him, and blamed him for not having put to the sword all the inhabitants of the city of Herat. 'I forbid you, said he, ever to show any mercy to my enemies without an express order from me. Know henceforward, that compassion reside only in mean souls; 'tis only rigour that keeps men in their duty, and a vanquished enemy is not tamed, but will ever hate his new master.' Then he bid him go and apply himself to the duties of his post as usual, and named Coutoucou Nevian to go against Gelaledin. Coutoucou departed at the head of eighty thousand men.

After his departure, the Grand Can caused a mount of earth to be cast up before the city in a place where he designed to make the fiercest assault; and they by his order built towers of wood, the height of which was equal to that of the walls of the place, to the end he might more conveniently incommode the besiegers with his engines which were placed on the platforms. He feared the fire which the besieger threw, lest it should burn his towers and machines; but an engineer promised to preserve them, provided he would permit him to have every day killed as many cows and horses as would cover the works with their wet skins, which the Emperor gave him leave to do; and by this means the fire thrown from

the city had no effect, because it was extinguished, or fell to the ground, so soon as it came against the skins, to which it would not stick or fasten. The engines in the city did not fail to cast down a great many of those of the Moguls; and the resistance of the besieged being very obstinate, their walls were exceeding strong, the besiegers at last began to be in want both of stones and wildfire: so that they ceased for some time to attack the city, because they were obliged to send farther off for flint-stones, mill stones, and other things proper to batter the walls, and sling out of the engines. When they renewed their attacks, the besieged made such furious sallies upon them, that they overthrew whole squadrons of them, and ruined their towers and engines; and it is certain, that if the Emperor had so vast an army, he had been obliged to raise siege.

He was just returned to his tent from making an attack, when a courier arrived from Contoucou Nevin, who informed him that he was within a day's journey of Gelaeddin, and gave him a particular account of his march, and the order he had made the army to march in, to avoid several ambuscades that had been laid for him; and likewise in what manner the enemy was encamped, of the number of their troops, and in fine, of all that he had learnt by his scouts. When the Grand Can understood that the Sultan Gelaeddin, with the reinforcement of Turks that had joined him, could make up an army of sixty thousand men, he seemed much surprized; and this supply made him apprehensive lest some other new ones should arrive to join him, which might molest his Moguls.

In truth, Sultan Gelaeddin had received thirty thousand men more, which were brought him by three Lords of his father's Court, who were joined in league together, and dwelt in this country in fortified places. They told him that having learned the Mogul Emperor had sent an army towards the frontiers of India to fight him, they were come to offer him their assistance, and to join their troops to his. He received them with much joy, and protested he would never forget the favour they had now done him. These captains were Turks, and had belonged to the Sultana his grandmother, and by consequence were no friends to Gelaeddin.

din; but the danger that threatened them if this Prince was conquered, made them resolve to assist him.

He put himself at the head of his army; and tho' he very well knew the Moguls army was by a south part superior to his, yet he delayed not to go and meet them. He came up with them just beyond a town called Birouan, within a day's journey from Gazna, where they were entrenching themselves. In truth, Coutoucou being informed that Gelaleddin's troops, flushed with the success they had at Candahar, were marching towards him with great vigour, judged it best to delay the time with them, and let them cool a little, rather than venture to provoke them to a battle. But the Sultan broke all his measures to avoid fighting, and took the advantage of the good disposition his army was in; so he marched directly up to the Moguls, and resolved to force them even in their intrenchments. Coutoucou had advice of their coming by his scouts; and not being willing that any should have cause to reproach him that he had hid himself, and yet had an army superior to his enemies, caused them to march out of their intrenchments, and went to meet the Sultan.

The Moguls vanguard, commanded by an Emīr, immediately charged Gelaleddin's, which was led by Emin Melic, who overthrew the foremost squadrons; but Coutoucou detached fresh troops to support his vanguard, which routed that of the enemy's. The Sultan immediately caused his main body to advance, and putting himself at their head, attacked the Moguls in the center, where Coutoucou was. The shock was terrible, and during some hours both sides had the advantage by turns; but at last victory declared herself on Gelaleddin's side. The Moguls were obliged to abandon the field of battle, and fled in disorder, and all those who remained not in the field wounded or slain, retired to the mountains.

The Sultan after the action, gave the praises due to his Lieutenant Generals and to others, the rewards they merited. They took a great number of prisoners in the fight; and 'tis said of Gelaleddin, that having caused them to be all brought into his presence, he reproached them with their cruelties, and caused nails to be thrust into their ears, to revenge, as he said, the

miseries his subjects had suffered for so long a time from the Moguls and Tartars.

There was, some days journey from thence, a party of Tartars who were besieging a fortress called Ouala; who when they heard the event of the battle at Birouan, raised the siege, and fled.

The defeat of the Moguls and Tartars was quickly known to the Emperor, who was still before Bamian. This Prince grieved at the loss of several Officers whom he much valued, could not receive this news without being in a passion. He was so enraged, that he swore the city of Bamian and the Sultan himself should give him satisfaction. His fury cost the life of one of his grandsons, who exposing himself, to please him, to the greatest dangers, was killed by an arrow shot from over the walls of the city. This young Prince fell dead at his grandfather's feet. He was a son of Prince Ostai. The Emperor, who tenderly loved him, because he discovered in him all the marks of good conduct, was not proof against this misfortune. He was mollified, groaned, and mixed his tears with those of the mother of this young Prince, who was present, and bathed the body of her dead son with tears, appearing like one distracted.

This accident cost the besieged very dear. The Grand Can recovering from his extasy of sorrow, endeavoured to comfort this lady, and left to her discretion the punishing the inhabitants of this place, the reduction of which could not be far off. He lavished his gold and silver to encourage his soldiers, who night and day continued the assault, and at last ruined the walls of the city in many places, and made themselves masters of Bamian. The bravest of the officers and soldiers of the garrison had already lost their lives in defending the place; the rest perished by the swords of the victors. The mother of the young Prince who was killed, entering with the Mogul soldiers into the city, and thirsting after blood, could not be satisfied with murders, but spared neither age nor sex. And far from suffering any to be saved for a slave, this incensed mother, or rather this fury, caused the throats of all the inhabitants to be cut, without excepting one; and even gave orders to rip up the bellies of women with child, for fear there

should remain alive one infant of this unfortunate people. This was not all; for to assuage her rage, the beasts underwent the same fate as the men and women, and she caused every living creature to be killed. Besides which, even all the mosques and houses were pulled down, the city became a heap of ruins, and the country round about a frightful desert: insomuch, that ever since this misfortune Bamian has always borne the name of Maubalig, which signifies in the Mogul language the unfortunate dwelling.

Ostai was not in the camp when his son was killed, and the Emperor forbid that any body should carry him the news, because he would himself tell it him; which he did in a very extraordinary manner. One day having called all his family together, he pretended to talk of something in very unintelligible terms; at last turning towards Ostai, who did not understand nor made no answer to him, Whence comes it, said he, with a fierce look, that you do not answer me when I speak to you? the Prince, believing the Emperor was angry, threw himself immediately at his feet, and said, my Lord, if I have displeased you, put me to death, I will not murmur. The Grand Can made him repeat these words three times; and asked him whether it was true that he so much feared to displease him. Yes, my Lord, answered Ostai. Well then, replied the Emperor, hear me, and if you fear to displease me, take care not to disobey me: Muatou-Can your son has been killed, and I forbid you to abandon yourself to grief. It was not without much pain that Ostai obeyed a command so contrary to nature: however he constrained himself; and soon after, the charge of an expedition which his father ordered him, diminished the afflicting sense he had of the loss of so dear an object.

Bamian was situate in thirty-four degrees and five minutes of latitude, on a mountain, whose foot was watered by a river which after having run thro' another mountain of that country, from thence flows into the Oxus, and makes one branch of this great river. This city was in the province of Zabulestan, and the capital of a small country which bore its name, ten days journey from Balc, and eight from the city of Gazna. A castle enclosed with strong walls, has been since built upon its ruins.

C H A P. XXXIV.

THE BATTLE BETWEEN GENGHIZCAN AND GELEDDIN.
DIN. THIS SULTAN'S PASSAGE TO INDIA.

BAMIAN being no longer in a condition to retard the Grand Can's conquest, and having no more victims left to offer up to the rage of his daughter-in-law, this Prince, impatient to come to blows with Geleddin, marched his army with so much precipitation, that he hardly gave his soldiers time to get ready their victuals. And notwithstanding the losses he had had, his army was still so numerous, that he believed the Sultan would not dare to make head against him in the open field, but expected to find him in the city of Gazna, knowing this place was very strong, and that provisions for a long siege had been carried into it. Yet he did not find Geleddin there as he imagined. This Sultan had judged it proper to retire elsewhere, and to secure the narrow passes of the mountains and brooks, to be the better able to manage to advantage the troops he had.

He was gone out of Gazna fifteen days before the Moguls appeared in that country: but a vexatious accident had happened in his army after the battle of Birouan; discord began to get into his army when the booty was to be divided. The three Turkish Lords pretended that the best spoils of the Moguls belonged to them, because of the succours they had brought. Emin Melic's troops, who were now united with the Sultan's, were willing that the booty should be equally divided, and that the custom of war should be followed. The quarrel began about a very fine Arabian horse which one of the three Turkish Captains demanded, and the others refused to yield to him. Geleddin could never bring them to agree: so that the Turkish Lords retired with their troops, and left him. This desertion did him much injury: and the principal reason that obliged him to go from Gazna, was to give time to his disunited troops to rejoin him, to oppose the common enemy; and in reality he did all that was possible to bring the three Turkish Captains to hearken to reason. He writ to them several times, and sent persons who were his friends, to represent to them, that they must perish if they remained separated from

him; and that on the contrary, if they rejoined him, they might gain a victory over Genghizcan, that would render them masters of all the riches that Prince had amassed together ever since the Carizmean war began. They at last suffered themselves to be persuaded, but too late; for the Grand Can having knowledge of their division, and not doubting but the common danger would reunite them, if he did not prevent it, detached from his army sixty thousand horse to stop them in the way. These troops seized upon all the passages by which these auxiliary troops could march to join Gelaeddin, who finding himself deprived of this powerful aid, retired towards the river Indus.

Some authors take here an opportunity to blame the conduct of the Sultan of Carizme, in having always employed Turkish Commanders rather than those of their own nation: yet we must confess that Gelaeddin, not being able since the death of his father to raise any considerable army, found himself under a necessity of making use of these troops. This Prince knowing that the Mogul Emperor swiftly pursued him, stopped on the banks of the river Indus, in a place where the stream was most rapid, to the end that the necessity of either conquering or dying might redouble his soldiers courage. He also believed that the straightness of the place where he was posted would deprive the Moguls of the advantage of bringing up all their army together to fight. He then marked out a camp with all the judgment imaginable. Since his departure from Gazna he was tormented with a cruel cholick, which gave him little rest, and would scarce permit him to go even in a horse-litter. Nevertheless, at the time when he suffered most, he saw himself obliged to mount on horse back, having learned that the enemy's vanguard was already arrived at a place called Hardir. On this news he marched in the night with the bravest of his people, and surprized the Moguls in their camp; he cut them almost all to pieces, without losing one man, and then returned to his camp on the bank of the river Indus, with a considerable booty.

Till this time, Genghizcan had marched with all the assurance of a conqueror, who believed that Gelaeddin thought of nothing else than to find an asylum;

But after this last action he always mistrusted this vigilant enemy, and did every thing with a great deal of circumspection. When he saw himself near the Sultan, he put his army in battle array, giving the command of the right wing to Zagatai, the left to Octai, and put himself in the centre in the midst of six thousand of his own guards, stout veteran troops, of whom he ever made use in his greatest necessity. On the other side, Gelaleddin being informed by his scouts how the enemies were ranged, immediately caused the boats on the Indus to be sent farther off, to take from his soldiers all hopes of safety, reserving only one of the largest for the security of the ladies, and to carry over to India the Sultana his mother, the Queen his wife, and his children: but by an unforeseen misfortune the boat split when they had occasion to embark, so that they remained in the camp. The army being ranged in order of battle, the Sultan reserved to himself the command of the main body of his army. His left wing, drawn up under the shelter of a mountain, which hindered the Moguls right from fighting them altogether, was commanded by his chief Vizier, and his right wing by Emin Melic. This Lord began the fight, and gauled the enemy's left wing so, that they gave ground, notwithstanding all the troops that sustained them. And the Moguls right wing wanting room to extend itself, the Sultan made use of his left, as of a body of reserve, and detached from time to time squadrons to sustain the troops that had occasion. He also took one part of them, when he went at the head of his main body to charge Genghizcan's. The Tartars at this shock sent forth most horrible cries; but Gelaleddin's soldiers were not startled, but following their Prince's example, fell on them with so much courage and vigour, that they put the Moguls main body into disorder. The Sultan opened a broad way to penetrate even into the midst, where the Grand Can should have been; but this Prince was not there. Having had a horse killed under him, he had caused another to be brought him, and was retired to give orders for all the troops to engage.

This disadvantage had likely to have lost the Moguls the battle; for the news being spread all over the army that the Sultan had broken thro' the main body,

all the troops were shocked, and had infalibly fled, if the Emperor had not immediately given orders, and showed himself publicly, riding from place to place. And, in fine, that which gained him the battle, was, that having observed Gelaleddin had weakened his left wing, he ordered Bela Nevian to go and attack it by some byways over the mountain, which a native of the country told him was possible. In effect, Bela, conducted by this guide, marched without losing many foldiers, betwixt rocks and dreadful precipices, and fell upon the Sultan's left wing behind, which being much weakened could not long resist.

The victory is by one author attributed to a body of horse composed of chosen men, surnamed Pehlevans, who, supported by ten thousand fresh men, fell upon Gelaleddin's right wing, which were at that time victorious, and defeated them, driving them back upon his main body, against whom Genghizcan had renewed the charge. The Sultan's troops, much fatigued with having fought ten whole hours against more than three hundred thousand men, were seized with fear, and fled, and his eldest son was made prisoner in the disorder. One part of the troops retired to the rocks which were on the shore of the Indus, where the enemy's horse could not follow them; and many others closely pursued by the Tartars, threw themselves into the river, which some of them happily crossed over. Others placing themselves round their Prince, being sensible that there was no hopes left for them, continued the fight.

Mean time, the Emperor, desirous to take Gelaleddin alive, forbid that any should kill him; and in order to seize his person, shut in this Sultan with his army, which ranged themselves in form of a bow, of which the river Indus represented the string. Gelaleddin used his reason perfectly in this exteme danger.

And seeing that of thirty thousand men whom he had at the beginning of the battle, there remained scarce seven thousand, and that if he continued the fight any longer, he should certainly fall alive into his enemy's hands, he began to think of his safety. And having no other course to take than to cross over into India; and altho' the river was very rapid in the place he must cross to escape, yet he resolved to venture it. But before he put this resolution in practice, he dismounted, and went to embrace his mother, wives, children

and friends, and bid them an eternal farewell. It is easy to imagine how moving a sight this was: nature and love in this sad moment showed itself in the most tender manner. Gelaleddin with tears in his eyes broke from those dear objects of his affection; and after having put off his armour and arms, except his sword, bow, and quiver full of arrows, he mounted a fresh horse, and spurred him into the river, the furiousness of whose waves astonished the beast so much, that he went not in but by force. He was of such service to the Sultan in carrying him safely over, that in gratitude he had him carefully kept ever after, and would not even for four or five years after ride him in any dangerous action.

Whilst he was crossing the Indus, Genghizcan being informed of it, ran to the shore side, and was not a little surprized to see him braving the fury of the waves; but he was much more to see the Sultan, forgetful of the danger his life was in, stop in the midst of the river to insult him, and empty his quiver of arrows, which he shot against him and his retinue. Several brave Mogul Captains would have thrown themselves into the river to swim after Gelaleddin; but the Grand Can hindered them, telling them this Prince would disappoint all their attempts. Then putting his finger on his mouth, and turning towards his children, he cried, ‘Any son should wish to spring from such a father. He that dares defy such dangers as this Prince has now escaped, may expose himself to a thousand others; and a wise man who has him for his enemy, must be always upon his guard.’

Mehomed Nisavi, author of the history of Sultan Gelaleddin's life, reports, that the Sultan being ready to enter the river, and pierced with the shrieks of those he had took his leave of, who begged him to deliver them from being slaves to the Moguls, commanded them to be drowned, and that this his order was immediately executed. But other historians, who have given a very full relation of all that past in this battle, make no mention of this Sultan's family's being thrown into the Indus; but assure us that the Grand Can, after this Prince was past over, caused to be brought before him his wives and all his children, and ordered all the males to be killed: and by this means the Sultan's eldest son taken at the rout of the army, being eight years old, lost his life. The Emperor having

learned that Gelaleddin had thrown into the river what gold and silver he had either in plate or money, had it searched for by the divers, who took up a great part of it, of which he put into his treasury what was most rare and valuable, and distributed the rest to his army.

Gelaleddin being got on the shore of India, returned thanks to God for having delivered him from the dangers he had been exposed to in the battle, and thro' the rapidity of the river. He got up into a tree to pass the night, add secure himself from the wild beasts, which were very numerous in this country. The next day, as he was walking, much disquieted in his thoughts, on the banks of the river, and looking about on every side to see if any of his people appeared, who might have past over at some other part of the river than that he crossed at, he perceived a troop of soldiers with some officers, who at the first beginning of the army's defeat had found a boat afloat, and seizing upon it, had sailed all night with much danger, because of the rocks, shelves, and violence of the current, which had drove them almost as low as where Gelaleddin crossed, tho' they embarked above a league higher than where the battle was fought. Among these were three officers his particular friends, with whom a few days after he concerted measures suitable to the condition they were now reduced to. He soon after saw coming up to him three hundred horse, which he discovered to be also some of his own forces, at which he rejoiced as much as possible in the melancholy state he was in. They told him that four thousand more of his army had saved themselves by swimming over, two leagues from thence, by a place in the river which was less rapid, but that they were naked, and so fatigued, that they looked like men just risen from the grave. He went immediately to seek them, met, and caressed them, assuring them of his affection to them, and promised to provide for their necessities. These unfortunate creatures made him sensible, by the loud acclamations of joy they felt at the sight of him that they were comforted for all the ills they had suffered by his presence alone.

From this time all things succeeded happened to Gelaleddin. An officer of his household named Gemalarrazad, who was not present at the battle, be-

cause he was employed elsewhere, having knowledge that his master was escaped; and that many of his people had past the river by swimming, ventured to load a very large boat with all that he could find proper for the Sultan's use; and crossed over the Indus, and joined Gelaeddin; who seeing that this boat had brought food, money, stuffs to clothe the soldiers, bows, arrows, swords, and many other things of which he stood in need, he thanked God for this so singular a favour, and embraced this faithful servant, making him great steward of his household, and surnamed him Eskiareddin, which signifies the chosen or the glory of the faith. As we have no design to write a compleat history of Sultan Gelaeddin, we shall only acquaint those who have a curiosity to know what became of so great a man, that he fought several battles in Indostan, in which he was at first victorious; that he made conquests and alliances, but that his prosperity excited jealousy in many Princes of India, who judging he would one day or other give them trouble, if they did not put a stop to his good fortune, conspired together against him, and obliged him to repass the Indus. Nevertheless there are historians who say that his departure from India was voluntary; and that this Prince being informed that Genghizcan was gone a great way from Persia, and that there were commotions in Tangut and China, hoping to recover by his valour, and the assistance of his friends, a part of what he had lost beyond the river Oxus, he left the care of his conquests in Indostan to one of his General Officers. But we shall have occasion to speak of his Prince again, and of his last actions, before we finish this book.

To return now to the Grand Can: he was much pleased at the advantage he had gotten over Gelaeddin; but grief succeeded his joy, when, upon making a review of his army, he saw it was considerably diminished, and that he had lost the flower of his soldiers, with a great number of his officers. The sieges of Talcan and Bamian, the hasty marches he had made, and the battle of Indus, which alone had cost him twenty-thousand men, all these had consumed a great part of this formidable army, whose number and

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strength had even astonished Sultan Mohamed at Tac-
 racou. In fine, he found he had lost two hundred
 thousand men since the beginning of the siege of Talcen;
 reckoning the two bodies of troops which Gialoddin
 had defeated. Yet he neglected not to send advice to
 the Governors of the provinces and Generals of his
 armies of his good success; and particularly to Hebu-
 be and Suida, who had by this time finished the con-
 quest of Yrac Agemi, otherwise called Persian Hin-
 cania, or northern Persia. He commanded them
 to make publick rejoicings; and at the same time
 gave them orders to enter Azerbaijan, or the country
 of the Medes, so soon as the spring came on, and to
 use all their endeavours to bring this kingdom under
 his obedience.



CHAP. XXXV.

THE REDUCTION OF AZERBIJANA, OR THE ANTIENT MEDIA, TO GENGHIZCAN'S OBEDIENCE. THE MOGULS WAR AGAINST THE GEORGIANS.

WHEN Suida Behadeur and Hubbe received orders to enter into Azerbijana, they were in winter quarters in Yrac, at Semoravide, a city they had taken by storm. And their army being much weakened by reason of the great garrisons they had been obliged to put into several places, they went to some Tartar Captains who kept the open country in Corassme, to send them the best part of their troops, and to raise more, and keep the country they were in quiet. These troops were no sooner on their march to go and join those with the two Generals, but the Mogul Captain who led them, met with a Calizmean called Tequin, who had under his command three or four thousand Horse, and who some little time before had surprized and killed the Governor of Rouran. These Captains and their troops fought, and the Mogul Captain had the better. He obliged Tequin to fly for safety to the city of Jorjean, situate in Tabaristan, whither Ainmugetan, an officer of the Sultan of Corassme, was retired; and there he found them together in a plain, with their troops in battle array, between the cities of Jorjean and Esterabade. He there attacked them, and after a sharp dispute, in which Tequin was killed, the Mogul officer remained victor, and Ainmugetan fled to Prince Cayeseddin, who was brother to the Sultan Gelaeddin, where he died soon after. This action was in the beginning of the year of our Lord 1222, and of the Hegira 619.

The victorious troops joined themselves to those under Hubbe and Suida about the end of March this year. After which, these two Generals marched toward Ardebile, a strong city, and a place of great trade, situate within two leagues of the mountain of Savlane, which was at that time covered with snow. This city was in the thirty eighth degree of latitude, and was the Arsacia of the antients. The inhabitants refused at first to open their gates, and seemed determined to defend the place; but their courage did not answer their pride, for after some resistance they

surrendered at discretion. The Moguls killed the greatest part of the people, and plundered and burnt the city; since which it has been rebuilt, and is at present one of the finest in the Persian empire. 'Twas in Ardebile that the famous Chec Sefy, the head of the royal family of Sefevi's which at this time fills the throne, was born, and here his tomb was erected; which for its magnificence surpasses the most pompous sepulchres of the kings who have been since buried there.*

When Hubbe and Suida had taken Ardebile, they went to Tauris, the capital of Azerbijana. The Governor, who was a man of courage, resolved to make a stout defence. He refused them every thing they demanded. He sallied out of the city himself with his soldiers, and knowing the country better than the enemies, he tired and fatigued them by an infinite number of skirmishes, and drew them into the ambushe he laid for them; and if he had not been too confident of his good fortune, the Moguls had had a great deal of trouble to subdue him. But at last they forced him to a pitched battle in the open field, in which he was beaten, but escaped to Tauris with the troops that were able to follow him; and there getting together all the soldiers he had left, he flattered himself he should be able to sustain a long siege: which he had perhaps done, if the inhabitants, not daring any more to trust in their strength after the ill success, he had had in the battle, had not forced him immediately to make proposals for peace to the Mogul Generals, who easily consented to them, fearing lest the Georgians, who were esteemed the most valiant people of all Asia, should declare for the inhabitants of Tauris. So they agreed on a sum of money, which was paid by the city, and a certain quantity of corn and cattle for the Moguls subsistence.

Tauris was situate in thirty-eight degrees of latitude. Several authors believe it was the Ecbatana of the

* The Persians believe that Chec Sefy did spring from the race of *Ally Mahomet's* son-in-law, and that he descended from *Huseyn* the son of *Ally* in a direct line, by one named *Imam Mousa*, the seventh of the twelve *Imams* who succeeded him. And thus they do endeavour to affirm that their Kings are of the race of their false prophet *Mehomed*, as well as the Kings of *Morocco* who pretend to be likewise descended from *Mohomet* by *Hafsa*, the second son of *Ally*.

ancients, the capital of the kingdom of the Mèdes.* Let that be as it will, all the advantage it at present enjoys consists in its being the principal city of Azerbaijan, now a province of the Persian empire. Its outside is very agreeable, its buildings very fine, its Mosques are magnificent: there are likewise Colleges and publick Baths.

The Moguls after this returned into Yrac Agemi towards Ispahan, † where they were informed there were some commotions; but he who was the author of them had been already punished, even by those who were the chief promoters of it, and persuaded him to it. They did not make the town suffer any chastisement for these disorders, but were content to take only the usual duties for the war, and past a part of the winter in hunting in this country, according to custom.

The Georgians, fearing to be in their turn attacked by the Moguls, held a council at Teflis their capital city, to consult what they had to do. There were some who, desirous to prevent this misfortune, proposed to make an alliance with Genghizcan; but the majority were of opinion that it was best to secure themselves by their swords. Thus war was resolved on; and they immediately got into the field ten thousand horse under the command of a very experienced Captain, who had made war with Sultan Mehomed the King of Carizme with good success. The desire they had for action did not permit them to wait the coming of the spring. They entered in the midst of winter into Azerbaijan, to go in search of the Moguls whom the two Generals had left there; but they found more troops than they expected, for all the garrisons had joined: and the Georgians, after having been twice worsted in two rencounters, returned to Teflis.

But having thus declared war against the Moguls, they imagined they should soon have been pursued by them.

* Oher assure us it is Hamadan that was the ancient Ecbatana. *Abulfeda*.

† There is much probability that this city of Ispahan was the *Aspa* of *Ptolomy*, altho' some pretend it was the *Gresian Hecatompilos*, built by the *Greeks* in the *Parthians* country where *Alexander* resided. It is at present the capital of the *Persian* empire, and situated in thirty-two degrees and twenty five minutes of latitude.

For which reason they sent deputies to all their neighbours to ask their assistance, but none would lend them any; for which cause they sent out strong parties, and molested all those who favoured the Moguls, or submitted to them. Hubbe and Suida, tho' the distance was so far between the place they were at and this, sent troops against the Georgians; and when the season would permit, marched themselves with all their forces, returning into Azerbijana, and thence entered into Georgia; but they found all the passages stopped, a few being able to defend them against many. They chose rather to defer to attack them, than to run the risque of sacrificing their soldiers perhaps to no purpose.

During these transactions they received advice that the inhabitants of Maraga had assisted the Georgians. To revenge themselves, they set down before their city, took, and plundered it. Maraga was situate in thirty-seven degrees and twenty minutes of latitude, within seventeen leagues of Tauris to the westward in the same province. 'Twas a modern built city, founded by order of the Calif Merouane, and was very considerable both for its trade and fine situation.*

After the taking of Maraga, the Moguls went to refresh themselves at Ardebile; there they learned that some of the Sultan's relations had excited a revolt at Hamadan, and that even the Governor of the city was one of the revolters. At the same time it was resolved that Hubbe should go and appease these troubles, whilst Suida continued in Azerbijana to observe the inhabitants of Tauris, with whom they had reason to be displeased, because they had secretly assisted the Georgians. Hubbe being arrived before Hamadan, and Gemaleddin, the Governor seeing himself abandoned by all the rest of the revolters, sent deputies to the Mogul General to assure him of his obedience, and to present him all that he thought worthy his acceptance. But his presents and submission availed him nothing. Hubbe was inexorable,

* It was in the Suburbs of Maraga that the illustrious *Nasir Eddin Toussy*, accompanied with some other astrologers, made his observations and his ephemerides, by the order of *Halacou King of Persia*, and grandson to *Genghizoon*, who were built for his magnificent observatory. There are few ephemerides in the *Levant* more esteemed than this astrologer's.

and would absolutely have him yield at discretion. The Governor was going to satisfy his commands, if a Captain named Faquihi had not hindered him. Faquihi excited the people to defend him, and prevailed. They put him at the head of the troops that were in the city, and he was so bold as to sally forth and attack the Moguls. They repulsed him smartly, and all he could do was to get back into the place. A great number of Tartars entering promiscuously with his soldiers, seized the gates, and made themselves masters of Hamadan.

After which, Hubbe returned back, and marched against Tauris with Suida; but the Governor of this city, informed of their design by some hired spies, sent them the tribute that he owed, by persons of address, who justified him so to these Generals, that the Moguls, instead of continuing their march to Tauris, went to Selmas and to Couy, to subdue these cities, which were at the farthest part of Azerbaijan, on the west side.*

They had no sooner taken and plundered them, than they turned their arms to the north, and went to Nafchivan a city of Aran, situate between Azerbaijan and Armenia. This place was treated like the others, yet with less rigour than Pilcan, which also lay in Aran, and was the chief place of trade in all the province. Pilcan being a town well fortified, it cost the enemy a great deal of time to take it, who to revenge themselves for this resistance, committed most cruel actions. Gangea, another city of Aran, was more fortunate, for it immediately opened its gates, which was the reason no damage was done to its inhabitants.

The Moguls were in this last mentioned city, when they were informed by some spies that a great number of Georgians were preparing to come and attack them. On this advice they resolved to wait their coming in the province of Aran; and these Generals agreed that, when the enemy was not far off from them, Hubbe should put himself in ambuscade with five thousand chosen men, and that Suida should march with the gross of the army as if he went to give them battle.

* These two cities were no farther than seven leagues off from one another, and Selmas is to this day very famous for the commerce there carried on.

but that as soon as they appeared, he should leave his baggage, and retire with precipitation, yet without disorder, and in such a manner that he could face about at a signal which Hubbe should give him in coming out of his ambuscade, to the end the Georgians might be charged both before and behind at the same instant.

This design being executed as it was agreed, the enemy took Suida's retreat for a real flight, and pursued him. Hubbe coming out of his ambuscade, these two Generals cut the Georgians in pieces, who in this one day lost thirty thousand men. The rest escaped back to Georgia; where they were hardly arrived, when news was spread over the country that the Moguls were coming to besiege. Teflis; on which account terror seized the inhabitants of this city, and those on the frontiers, whom the Moguls approach, caused to fly farther up into the country. Yet notwithstanding the fright the people were in, the commanders and soldiers knowing the difficulty of the ways and lanes, ran to guard them; and the Moguls met with so many turnings and narrow lanes, that they were disheartened, and immediately retreated. 'Tis said that in this juncture a Mogul who advanced too far was made prisoner, and that his own misfortune and the shame of seeing his companions retire back, so afflicted him, that he killed himself.

Teflis is situate in forty-three degrees of latitude. It was a great trading city, where there were baths of hot water so excellent for health, that Abulfeda the geographer, compares them to those of Tiberias in Palestine.

C H A P. XXXVI.

GENGHIZCAN'S EMPLOYMENTS DURING THE EXPEDITION OF THE GENERALS AND HUBBE SUIDIA IN AZERBIJANA, AND WHAT THE OTHER GENERALS OF THE ARMY DID.

AFTER the battle of Indus, thro' the severity of the winter, Genghizcan was obliged to take up his quarters on the frontiers of India, and to let his army rest, which was extremely fatigued. After he had a little recovered them, he ordered a hunting, which lasted one part of the season. But when he saw the spring approaching, he distributed to his Lieutenants, that they might continue to make new conquests, those of his troops who were in good condition, and kept the rest that were most out of order to manage himself.

He sent into the country of Herat, which had revolted, four score thousand men under the command of Ilencou Nevian, and ordered him to watch the motions of the thirty-thousand malecontents who had abandoned Gelaleddin's army after having so bravely fought the battle of Birouan. He sent away twenty thousand men under the command of Bela, to the country of Multane, to resist the Sultan if he appeared on that side the country.

He charged his son Ostai to go with the troops under his command and conquer Gazna, and to chastise the inhabitants of that city for having supplied his greatest enemy with succours. He gave to Zagatai sixty-thousand Tartars to go into the provinces of Sende and Quirman, to shut up these countries from the Sultan. A needless precaution! for Gelaleddin was returned into Quirman so soon as he heard the Emperor was got into Mogolistan.

The Grand Can, on the receipt of some letters from China, resolved to quit the provinces of Persia to return nearer to the Oxus, where they informed him that his long absence had caused the Chinese to grow every day more insolent, and wish nothing more than to see China again governed by its natural Prince; that they seemed disposed to revolt, and follow the ex-

ample of Chidascou the Can of Tangut, who, seconded by the Moguls' secret enemies, had surprized the city of Compion, in spite of the resistance made by the Governor. On this information Genghizcan sent orders to his brother Utakin, and went up as far as Candahar with the remainder of his troops, besieged and took this city, and there waited a long time, expecting to hear news of his army.

The city of Condahar was situated in thirty-three degrees of latitude. It was an ancient city, and the capital of a province of that name. Several historians will have it to be one of those which Alexander caused to be built in those parts, and named Alexandria. Geographers are divided as to its situation; some place it in the country of Sende, others in India, and others in Persia: and the Kings of both these last mentioned countries willingly crediting the opinion of those writers who favour their pretensions to it, fail not alternately to seize of this city every time an opportunity presents, and plead that it belongs to him, whoever gets it. The trade this city carries on with the three countries beforementioned, to which it serves as a frontier-town, makes the inhabitants very rich.

Multane, a city in India, situate in twenty-nine degrees and forty minutes of latitude, fell also sometime after into the Moguls hands by the valour of Bela Nevian; but this General did not go so far as Lahor, as he was ordered, because he knew there was in that place a stronger army than his. A Patan, named Cobadia, had sent that those forces there, believing he ought rather to provide against the Moguls and Tartars than against Gelaledin, tho' this Sultan was in arms even then on the frontiers of his country. 'Tis true, Gelaledin was not in a condition to be much feared, having so few troops with him; nor had he done any thing but made a slight irruption on the territories of a Prince named Rana, who had insulted him, and whom he killed.

Ilencou executed the orders he had received concerning Herat with much cruelty. We have already related how the people of this country had made peace with Tulican, who gave them a Governor; but loving their native Prince extremely, and the Mahom-

tan religion, which indeed was the strongest motive, they soon revolted from the Moguls, and threw off their yoke so soon as they saw their Prince appear, and tumultuously killed Aboubequir who governed them, put to the sword all those who took Gerighizcan's part in that city, and chose a Governor named Moubarezeddin. This action was done at the time when the thirty-thousand malecontents joined the Sultan; for the inhabitants of the country of Herat, seeing so fine an army under their Prince's command, believed his affair would take a better turn, and that he would be re-established, and so thought they might revolt with impunity.

Prince Coutoucou had immediately received orders to chastise them; but having been beat at Birouan, the Emperor had been obliged to defer his vengeance for some time. At last he sent Ilencou to Herat with orders to ruin all the country, and to destroy the thirty-thousand men who had assisted the Sultan. This General employed six whole months in acquitting himself of this commission; and being sensible that the more cruelty he shewed, the more his master would be pleased with him he set all on fire, and filled with blood all the city and country. The Moguls boasted they had killed above sixteen-hundred thousand persons, comprehending the thirty-thousand malecontents which Ilencou had orders to fight, and which he entirely defeated, tho' with much difficulty.

Ostai also set out from the borders of India to go to the country of Gazna, to execute the Emperor's orders. He was no sooner arrived there, but he exercised all sorts of cruelties; not that this Prince was naturally bloody, but he knew his father was so, and that he hated these people, to whom he imputed the loss of his armies: in truth, they had always assisted the Sultan Gelaeddin as much as they were able. After Ostai had got possession of all the places in this country that were of least strength, he sat down before the principal city, at that time called Daralmulke, or the royal city, because it had been the capital of the kingdom of the children of Subutsequin, who had heretofore possessed both the empires of Persia and India. This city, which is now called Gazna, was furnished with all things necessary to sustain a siege; and besides a strong garri-

son, Gelaeddin had placed there a very brave and experienced man for their Governor.

This Governor represented to the inhabitants that the Mogul Emperor hated them more than all the rest of the Sultan's subjects; that they ought not to expect any mercy from a Prince who was both an idolator and a cruel person; that he had sworn their ruin, and that by consequence it was in vain for them to imagine to melt or soften him by any submissions: in fine, he so well animated the people of Gazna against Genghizcan, that they all resolved to lose their lives in the defence of their city, rather than vainly sue to him. Nor did they by their actions bely their words, or act below this generous resolution. They made frequent sallies, and with good success, upon the labourers, and several times overthrew their works. They twice beat down the mounts of earth the enemies raised to place their engines on; they broke above hundred of their battering rams. But all these attempts proved useless, for one night, after an obstinate fight they had in the day time, in which Ootai himself had fought in person to encourage his soldiers, who began to be daunted, one side of the walls of the city fell down, and unfortunately filled up the ditch with its ruins, so that a great number of the Moguls and Tartars entered with ease into the place sword in hand. The Governor perceiving how much this accident had dashed the inhabitant's courage, and that he could not long sustain the Moguls attacks, resolved to die like a gallant man; and putting himself at the head of the bravest of his soldiers, charged amidst the thickest of the enemies, where he and all with him were slain, after having killed many of the enemies. Nevertheless the city of Gazna was not entirely ruined, nor did all its inhabitants perish, like those of those some other cities we have mentioned: for the plundering it did not last above four or five hours, Ootai causing it to cease, and taxing the inhabitants who were left alive, at a certain sum, which they gave to buy the city till such time as all the province was reduced to the obedience of the Emperor his father; whom he afterwards went to join in Tartary, to give an account of his conduct.

When Prince Zagatai was come into the country of Quirman with his numerous army, he took by degrees

all the places in that country, according to the orders he had received from the Grand Can, who being well informed of the unhealthfulness of this province, had charged him to take great care of the soldiers. The capital city was called Quirman. It was situate in thirty degrees of latitude. The ancients called this province by the name of Carmania. It had on the south the Indian sea, and on the north Corassana. When he was possessed of Quirman, he led his troops into Maeran, which formerly was comprized in this province, but at this time made a part of Sende.

After being seized of Tix, which was one of the best cities in twenty-six degrees of latitude, and of some other places which he destroyed, he past the winter in Quelanger, a country situate on the borders of the Indies. As he designed to stay a long time in this place, the soldiers made themselves a great number of houses. There were some who even got very fine flocks of sheep; and they subsisted with greater ease, because the Prince had made the quarters for the troops of so great an extent, that they did not incommode one another. Every soldier had his slaves who served him. The troops employed themselves in cultivating gardens, and began to solace themselves as if they had been in a country which they supposed was going to be divided amongst them, and which they were to settle in for the rest of their lives. But being in a country whose climate was very different from that they were born in, when the scorching winds customary in this place began to blow, they fell sick almost all of them, and a great number died; and the greatest part of those that lived, remained so weak and languishing, that if the Sultan had then had any army to oppose them, it is not to be doubted but he had entirely ruined this of the Moguls.

The advantages the Persians gained from their sickness, were, that their enemies could not attack the country of Fars, nor one part of Couzistan, which according to the disposal the late King of Carizme made of his kingdoms, belonged to Cayaseddin, Sultan Gelaeddin's younger brother. It contained strong cities, which would have defended themselves. Thus Cayaseddin escaped the Tartars for the present.

Zagatai judging his troops unable to execute his designs, made them several times remove from one place to another to recover them; and to ease them, ordered that the greatest part of the slaves whom they had taken in the neighbouring places, should be put to death, because they were a burden to the soldiers who were charged with the care of them. In one day then these miserable slaves had all their throats cut. After which the army encamped in a more temperate country: the change of air and good treatment cured the sick; so that in a little time Zagatai having received orders to repair to the Grand Can with his troops, found them in a condition to march. He put garrisons into the cities and countries he had conquered, and committed the whole Government of them all to one of his Lieutenants. After which, he marched northward, and made one part of his army go along the borders of India, under the conduct of a Lieutenant General, and with the rest he himself crossed over the countries to go for Bile, where the general rendezvous was appointed.



C H A P. XXXVII.

GENGHIZCAN'S RETURN FROM THE COUNTRY OF IRAN TO THE COUNTRY OF TOURAN, THAT IS, FROM PERSIA TO TARTARY.

THE Emperor having decamped from before Candahar, continued to march to the Oxus. He past the rest of the summer of the year 1222, on this side of that river, in a place whose pleasantness and beauty invited him to stay there, till the return of his Generals. Whilst he was there, deputies came from Balc to wait on him; he ordered them to send him some men of skill, who were able to inform him of all the particularities of their country. They obeyed; and soon after their return, several learned persons arrived at the court. The Grand Can conferred with them concerning the antiquities of Balc, and Bactriana, and they informed him of all they knew.

Nor did he omit to talk with them about Zoroaster, whom the orientals call Zeridescht Behram. They told him that this great man had been King of their country, and that he alone of all mankind had laughed when he was born; that it was he who first studied the motion of the stars, and invented magick; that he had a great number of followers, who became so well versed in those arts, that they had the titles of wise men and philosophers, and that he himself was called the King of the Magi; lastly that he had no other priests but them to teach and improve the religion of the worshippers of fire, who were the Medes, Persians, and Bactrians, who all had some of those Magi in their countries. Their chief employment was to see that every particular person or family preserved the consecrated fire in their houses, so that it did not go out. These idolaters had in every province a great and magnificent temple for the publick exercise of their religion. There are some authors who affirm, that in Azerbijana this fire, which was so revered, burnt for the space of seven hundred years without intermission. These temples were called Ateschkede; and there are to be seen at this day the magnificent remains of these great buildings.

The Grand Can received letters from Schidaschon the Can of Tangut, who made him offers of submission, and to be tributary to him, if he would pardon what

was past. A council was held on this subject, and it was resolved an answer should be sent him that his offers were accepted, because they were not willing he should form any more enterprizes; so that the Emperor might make himself master of Mogolistan after he had finished all his affairs in Persia and Tartary. It was also agreed he should pass over the Oxus, to daunt all the people who had any inclination to rebel. With this design he pressed the return of his troops, and sent to his Generals to set out immediately from the places where they now were to follow him, after having put good Garrisons and able Governors into the places requisite. After this he past over the Oxus with the troops he had with him, and went to Bocara, where some had already begun to make reparations. One historian says he went directly to Samarcand: but those who say it was to Bocara, prove it by a conversation which was found in writing, between the Emperor, the Cady, and the Catibe, that is to say, the Orator of the City. These two men were sent to him to give him an account of their religion and laws, as he desired: these doctors, says one, being come into his presence, he asked them what their faith was in general terms; they answered, that they believed, as all the Mahometans did, there was but one God, and that this God did create all things, and had no equal. The Grand Can told them he believed the same. Then he asked them what was their opinion of Mahomet; they answered that God had sent this prophet to his servants with his seal, and orders to instruct them in the laws they must follow, both as to what is permitted, and what is forbidden them. Genghizcan approved this answer, and said, I believe it, since I, who am but the servant of God, do daily send Ambassadors into divers countries, and even to my own subjects, to make my pleasure known to them. The two learned men after this entertained him on the subject of prayers, and the times in which it was their custom to pray daily. This institution he liked very well, as also that of fasting, which the Mahometans observe in the month of Ramadan: as to which he told them that it was but reasonable they should use some abstinence for one month's space, all the rest of the year they drank and eat what they pleased, and past

whole nights in debauches, nay, even in this month of Ramadan, altho' they called it out of respect the ~~honorable~~. He also approved that a man should distributed to the poor a part of his goods; for example, that of twenty ~~denars~~ ^{denari} denari of gold, he should give them the half of one. But when this doctors told him that the Mussulmans were obliged to have ~~temples~~ ^{mosques} mosques to worship God in, and that they called these mosques the houses of God, where they ought to pray, and rendered him their homage; he told them, that the whole world was the house of God, and that he heard the prayers of men in all parts of the world. He asked many other questions of the orator and eady of Bocara concerning their customs. After which they returned to their houses, and affirmed that Genghizcan had sentiments very conformable to theirs, and that he might be reckoned of the number of the Mussulmans. Nevertheless the orator was not pleased with the answer this Prince gave concerning the temples, because it maintained that there was no need of them; which was to deny that a man was obliged to perform a pilgrimage to Mecha, since men went not thither but to worship God at Quabe, which is his chief temple, according to the Mahometan's belief.

The Grand Can did nothing at Bocara worthy mentioning. He pass the winter there, the season not permitting him to march so great an army so far as from the country of Balcto Samarcand, whither he went not till the year of our Lord 1223, and of the Hegira 620* and then he sent his troops before, and ordered them to treat the people gently, and to use no violence to them; but to be content with what was ordered them for their subsistence, by those who had the care of it; in a word, to live as they ought in a country belonged to him. They punctually observed these orders. The Emperor soon followed his army with all his household. Presents were made him in every place he passed thro'; and as soon as they learned he was near Samarcand, the chief merchants and principal officers of the country came out to meet him, with rich presents, which he received very graciously.

* Lewis VIII. being at this time to reign in France.

They assured him, by the mouth of their orator, of their fidelity: and he ever after treated them with kindness, as a people whose affection to him he believed sincere and unfeigned.

When he was returned into his tent, he entered into conversation with the deputies whom the city had sent to welcome him: He recounted to them all the transactions between him and the two Sultans, and particularly imputed to Mehommed all the ills the empire had suffered, as being the sole cause of them. He even gave them the detail of the victory he had gained over Gelaiddin; and after having told them that they had now no other Emperor but himself, he declared to them, that it was to him they ought for the time to come to address their requests, and make prayers for him in the mosques, which he called, making the countenance in his name; and that he alone ought to be the subject of their praises. He past the greatest part of this year at Samarcand, in settling the affairs of his empire, and in giving time to his troops, which he expected from very remote parts, to come up to the place he had appointed. He at this time made several regulations which he annexed to his other laws: and being now something at ease, he forgot not any thing that he thought would conduce to the preservation of his kingdoms. He resolved to hold a General diet at Toncat in the beginning of the year following, that is, in 1224, and of the Heg. 621. For this reason he sent his orders into all the provinces, to the Princes his children, the Governors, and Generals of the army: nay, he desired Suida and Ilubbe should be there also, and therefore sent them word to come to Toncat by the way of Caspchiac, after having passed by Derbende, that is to say, by the Caspian gates. But he commanded them, above all things, to follow the orders of Tauschiacq his son, who was then in Caspchiac, or that great western Tartary situate on this side the river Jaxartes, and reaching even to Muscovy, as has been before mentioned.

CH A P. XXXVIII.

THE GENERAL HUSBE AND SUIDA'S EXPEDITION TO
THE KINGDOM OF SCHIROUANF: THEIR TRAVELS BY
DERBENDE, OR THE CASPIAN TS.

HUSBE and Suida had no sooner received the Grand Can's orders, but they prepared to execute them; and after having settled what methods they should take to pass into Caspach, on the western side of the Caspian sea, they sent some before to view the roads and passages, who brought back word to them, that there was nothing but rocks and precipices, so that it was impossible to pass any other way than by the Straits of Derbende. But the two Generals having learned that the king of Schirouane was master of them, and that none could pass that way without his leave, they marched directly into his country, where they had not yet been, altho' it was a part of the country of Azerbaijan, the rest of which they had already conquered. They concealed this their design, and pretended only, that they went to establish the Grand an's empire there, as well as in the other parts of Asia. They first besieged Schamaqui, a city situate in 40 degrees 50 minutes of latitude, and soon took it.

They there treated the people rigorously, because they had resisted them: but afterwards, to gain the King of Schirouane's good will, they said publicly, that Genghizcan desired of this Prince only a slight acknowledgement of his submission, and a small tribute. The King refused to pay the tribute, but the Generals did not much trouble themselves about that, having no other design but cunningly to obtain from him a passage by Derbende. They spared the country of Schirouane, and made their soldiers live very regularly. They even punished several for having abused the people. They sent presents to the King, and received also some from him: But when they proceeded to ask him to give them the liberty to pass by the way of Derbende into Tartary, and that he perceived that this was the only aim to which all their civilities tended, and the motives of the respectful treatment they had given his people, he gave off answering their

compliments, and believed that they only fought how to seize on this important passage, to hold all the country in subjection, and drive him out of his kingdom. For this reason, when they again pressed him importunately for leave to pass by the straits of Derbende; he answered them, that this did not lie in his power, since the people who inhabited these straits, did not acknowledge any one for their master; and were so jealous, that they would not suffer more than ten men at a time to pass that way, and those men too must not be strangers or suspected persons. Notwithstanding this answer, the Moguls, after having used intreaties to no purpose, proceeded to threats, and told the King of Schirouane, that since they found that nothing could be obtained from him by fair means, whatever assurances they gave him of their sincerity, they now declared to him, that they not only expected that the gates of those straits should be opened to them to pass through, to return into their own country thro' the countries of the Alani, Tartary and Capschac, according to the orders that had been given them; but moreover, that his officers should be their guides. The King having considered of it, granted the Mogul Generals their demands.

After fifteen days march, during which they went above forty leagues by the woods, rocks and narrow passages of Mount Caucasus, the Mogul army, led by the King of Schirouane's guides, arrived safely at Derbende, having passed thro' those straits, not without admiration of the manner, nature and art had wrought together for the defence of this passage. Hübbe and Suida freely confessed that it was not to be forced. The very walls, which were six foot thick, were made of a certain matter, composed of lumps of gravel and shells pounded together, which was much harder than any kind of stone whatsoever.

This passage was called by the antients *Portæ Caspiæ*, at the Caspian gates; and the word Derbende in Persian properly signifies, The fastenings of the gates. It is situate in 43 degrees of latitude, betwixt the Caspian sea and a Mountain of the same name, by which one must of necessity pass to go into Tartary, to the Alani, the Circassians, and the people of Capschac, when one comes from Yrac, Azerbijana, Syria, and Armenia. There is between the sea and the Mountain a space a quarter of

a league broad; in this space were built, at three or four hundred paces from one another, two thick walls, founded on the rock, and reaching from the mountain to the sea; so that all passengers were obliged to pass thro' by the iron gates which were in these walls. The space taken in by these walls made a third part of the city called Scheheryounan, that is to say, the city of Greeks, because it was built by the command of Alexander the Great; you in ancient Greek signifying Greece. But it was not in this quarter of it that Derbende was best peopled, nor in the higher parts which were on the side of the mountain towards the top altho' it was much more peopled than Scheheryounan. The greatest number of inhabitants were in a place called the Moyenne, a city at the foot of the mountain. These three parts which composed the city, were near three quarters of a league in length, tho' they were not very broad. It was a place of no great trade, by reason of the proud and untractable humour of the inhabitants.

The Persians say, that Derbende having been once ruined, the great Cosroes caused it to be rebuilt, in the reign of Justinian the Emperor of Constantinople. There was also a kind of port where boats and vessels daily arrived, and which was shut in by a chain fastened to two forts, which hindered any from entering into the place by sea without leave. All this at present is defended by a castle which is on the top of the mountain; and the orientals say, that since Alexander led his army by the way of Derbende, none can remember that any other but Genghizcan's passed that way.

When Hubbe and Suida were got beyond Derbende, they found themselves in the country of the Alani, who, according to Strabo's report, could speak twenty five languages. This country is the antient Albania, situate between the Caspian sea and Iberia, in 37 degrees of latitude. These people, who are at present called the Tartars of Daguestan, were extremely surprized to see on a sudden these two Generals appear, of whom they had not so much as heard any mention: and fearing they had some design upon their liberties, they at first did them all the mischief, and put them to all the trouble imaginable. They cut down the woods

to stop up the lanes, broke up the roads, and spoiled all the corn and provisions, to cause the Moguls to perish: yet all this did not hinder Tarcou, the chief of their cities, from being taken and ruined. The Circassians having joined the Alani, they much embarrassed Suida and Hubbe, till such time as these two Generals having found the way to surprize Terqui, the capital of Circassia, conquered both, notwithstanding the succours these people received from the Calmuck Tartars bordering on the Volga and Caspian sea, whom they desired to enter into a league with them.

The Mogul Generals foreseeing, that if these other Tartars joined in the league with the Alani and Circassians, and that if these nations raised all the forces they could against them, they could not withstand them, wholly applied themselves to break this confederacy; to effect which, they sent messengers to the Calmucks to represent to them that they were Tartars as well as they, and all of the same nation; whereas the Alani and Circassians were their profest enemies; and that they asked nothing but to return to their own country, and desired them to be the arbitrators of this war. The Moguls reasons, attended with several presents for the heads of the Calmuck hords, who were not willing to provoke them farther, made them change their minds, and recall their troops; so that the Alani and Circassians seeing themselves deprived of their assistance, soon lost all courage, and gave way to their enemies.

Whilst these two Mogul Generals held correspondence with the Calmuck Tartars, they passed the Volga with ease, and entered into Caspach: but it being late in the year before they arrived, they were obliged to pass the winter there, which very much displeased their hosts; and their long continuance there having in the end given birth to several feuds, their friendship ended. Nevertheless, the Moguls having fortified themselves in the country, and learnt that they might be relieved by Tauschican, who was near; they sent an express to him, to inform him of the condition they were in.

This Prince immediately sent away the best part of his troops to them, led by such skilful commanders, that they found means to join these two Generals, notwithstanding all the efforts of their enemies to hin-

der them. And all these troops thus joined, made a considerable army who without much trouble constrained these people to acknowledge Genghizcan for their Emperor, as well as the major part of the other Tartars who acknowledged him. Touthican being obliged to go to Court, sent advice of his departure to Hubbe and Suida, whom he left masters of Capschac in his absence, with order to attack the Nogays, who had offended him.

The winter having frozen the rivers, gave the Moguls an easy passage over places, which would have otherwise much embarrassed them. By this means they went as far as Astracan, which they subdued: and this war, which lasted six or seven months, was not finished till such time as the Nogays had acknowledged Touthi for their Sovereign, and Genghizcan for their Grand Can. Hubbe and Suida remained in this country till the autumn of the year following, 1224; and then Touthi being returned from Court, and from the Diet which was held at Toncat, they left it with the troops they had brought with them, before those this Prince sent them, had joined them.

The city of Astracan, which the Mahometans called Hadgi Tarcan, is in the Isle of Elgoi, which separates Europe from Asia, and makes part of the countries of the Tartars of Nogay. It is situate in 46 degrees 22 minutes of latitude, about fifty leagues from the Caspian sea, into which several rivers discharge themselves. Its walls, instead of bastions, have towers of stone; and are furnished with several pieces of brass cannon. The garrison of the city is always a strong one. The trade is carried on with the Nogays, by the Calmucks and other Tartars; as also by the Muscovites, Persians and Armenians. Its principal traffick is in silks and brandy. The Czar of Muscovy raises a great revenue by the taxes he lays upon them.

**GENGHIZCAN'S DEPARTURE FROM SOGDIANA FOR THE
DIED AT TONCAT. THE ARRIVAL OF THE PRINCES
HIS SONS AT THIS DIET.**

WHEN the Mogul Emperor had resolved on his departure from Sogdiana to go to the Diet which he had called together at Toncat, he freed the people of this province for several years from the payment of the usual tribute, because he was well pleased with their deportment to him. And to give the Lords of this country some particular marks of his affection, he remitted to them during their whole lives the taxes which the nobility of each kingdom were obliged to pay their Prince. This proceeding of the Emperor caused much joy to the inhabitants of Samarcand. But the joy was not so universal in the city, it being damped with seeing the Queen Turcan-Catun, who had been brought thither a prisoner with her Court, and all the great officers of the empire that had been taken, led as in triumph before the Grand Can's army, who was going to pass thro' those countries where she was still beloved. Her harem, or the ladies of her seraglio, followed her. The great officers belonging once to Sultan Mehomed marched after. Then the throne and crown which he had taken from the Sultan, and his mother, were borne in state. In this manner Genghizcan marched out of Sogdiana, after having lived there near a year, and went to the river Jaxartes which he crossed over.

He arrived at Toncat the beginning of the year of our Lord 1224, and of the Hegira 621. He had made choice of this city to hold the Diet in, both because of its agreeable situation, and by reason it was able to furnish in a sufficient manner provisions and all other things needful for so numerous an assembly. The Princes Octai and Zagatai repaired to Court as soon as it was possible for them, after having distributed into different places the armies they commanded. The two bodies of forces under Zagatai were rejoined in Tocarestan; but having ruined the countries of Talcan and Bamian, he was obliged to return up to the Oxus to subsist them, and did not cross over it till he came to Bedacschan. From thence he continued his way eastward by the confines of Torquestan,

and went as far as Otrar, where he fixed the head quarters for his army, whom he caused to encamp in the Turks country.

Öölai used the same diligence; for when he had finished the conquest of Gazna, and the troops of the other Generals, with those who were not designed for Persia, had joined his army, he went back up the country as far as Bocare, from whence he went to Samarcand. Because he had orders to leave his troops in Sogdiana, quartering along the territory of Samarcand as far as the Jaxartes.

Touschican repaired also to Court, as has been already said. It had been a long time since he had seen the Emperor his father; for immediately after the reduction of Carizme he had been sent into Capschac, where in spite of all the troops of hords and their Cans joined in league against him, in less than four years time he made himself master of these great provinces, except that part which was situate in the south, from Nogai to the Caspian sea, which Hubbe and Suida reduced in their return home by the country of the Alani. In fine, Touschican had pushed his conquests as far as the frontiers of Muscovy.

When this Prince came into the Grand Can's presence, he kneeled down, and the Emperor gave him his hand to kiss. The Princess his brothers had the same honour at their arrival before him; after having laid their presents at the foot of the imperial throne; according to the usual custom; but although their presents were very considerable, Touschican's surpassed them all by much; for besides several rare things, he presented a hundred thousand horses, amongst which there were twenty thousand all bay coloured *. After the Emperor had embraced his sons; and testified by his caresses how well satisfied he was with their conduct, he opened his treasures, and loaded them with gifts. After which he ordered a great feast to be made; and gave publick banquets for a whole month. But the most sumptuous treat was on their return from a general hunting, in which there had been killed several thousand beasts of all kinds, of which the best were made use of, and dressed after the Tartars fashion.

* A bay coloured horse is a reddish brown.

The Grand Can's falconers furnished also abundance of all sorts of birds. They drank not only the usual drink among the Moguls and Tartars, and sherbats, the way of making which they had learned from the Persians, but also exquisite fine wines which the Emperor had caused to be brought from the southern countries, which he preferred before the Tartarian balpiringe, griut, beer, or cammez. Yet, they besides these, consumed a prodigious quantity of balpiringe, which was a kind of hydromel, or metheglin, made of honey, rice, and millet, which they clarified so well that nothing could look of a finer colour. They generally drank a great deal of this liquor, because of its pleasant taste; but it made them drunk as soon as wine, being as strong.

This feast was made in the winter when little cammez was used, and was now drank no where but at the tables of great Lords, where the butlers, to shew their skill, served up a drink which was as hard to make good in this season as it was easy to make pleasant in summer. They made this cammez of mares milk, which is very sweet. They poured it into a great churn, where they churned it extraordinary well, in the same manner as they make butter. But this mares milk must be well beat, if one would make good cammez; for which reason this work is always reserved for men to do, and the women do not meddle with it. Neither do any milk the mares, who are generally very troublesome, because they will not stand still to be milked, at least if their foals be not held near them, which are not easily governed. When the butter is made, they take it out of the churn, and the butter-milk is the cammez; but it is different from our butter-milk, because it is sharp on the tongue like the best wine, and as pleasant. This drink is of a greyish colour; but the Grand Can's officers of his table know how to give it a more agreeable colour, and to render it still more pleasant, for by much churning this liquor they make another, which is called caracamez, that is, black cammez, which they reserve for their master's drinking only. Those who have drank of it affirm that the other cammez is not so pleasant; which is not to be wondered at, because

* The way to make cammez.

they draw out the purest part of it, which swims on the top and the grosser part remains at the bottom, and is reserved for other uses. But let this be as it will; the authors who make mention of it, assure us it is a very wholesome drink, and attribute great virtues to it. The beer made of rice and griut, which is the common drink in winter, was plentifully distributed among the domesticks at the feast. This griut is very pleasant, tho' a little sour. It is, by means of a curd made of goats milk, rendered very hard and dry, which they keep for the winter; and never spoils, because they make it extreme hard after the butter is taken out: and this drink is afterwards made by steeping this curd in water.



THE GENERAL DIET, HELD IN THE CITY OF TONCAT.

THE feast being ended, the Grand Can caused all things to be got ready for holding the assembly, he had convened, and had so well concerted his measures, that all the members of this great council appeared in Toncat at the day assigned them. The Can of the Yugures, whom he had heretofore adopted, had been summoned to take his place as his adopted son, and several other sovereign Princes, who had voluntarily submitted to Genghizcan, or were in alliance with him, failed not to come thither. Besides these, the Governors of the provinces of Catai, Mogolistan, Caracatai, Iran, and Touran, were also there, and set up their tents in the plain of Toncat.

Altho' this plain was seven leagues long, yet it could hardly contain the tents and attendants of all these great persons who were to be present at this assembly : The greatest part of them had caused their moveable houses to be drawn thither, and every Lord had a numerous retinue. These houses were built upon wheels, which carried very long pieces of wood fastened to their axletrees, on which all the machine was rested ; and the axletrees bearing all the weight, they made them of the hardest wood they could get. These houses resembled our tents in Europe, the floor was of wood, in four sides were enclosed with cane-work or laths. The roof was raised in the fashion of a dome and on the top there was a round hole which served both for a window and chimney ; but if the house was large, they used some other opening lower, to render the place more light. Some were covered with felt rubbed with sheep's milk, so that the rain might run off without penetrating it. But what was practised only by poor people ; for the rich caused the felt to be plaistered over with a composition in which was a great deal of tallow, which was less easy to be penetrated by the rain. There are some curious people, who, to be distinguished from the rest, caused their houses to be covered with stuffs of various colours.

They make these houses larger or smaller as they please, but they are always longer than broad ; and however light the wood is they are made of, they are sometimes so heavy, by reason of the furniture they

contain, that they are obliged to put to one of them thirty oxen to draw it along. There are some that are made to take to pieces, and set together at pleasure; and others that always remain fixed on their wheels, which are those that can be drawn by two or three oxen, which generally serve for store-houses to put up the best of the furniture, and clothes. And the great Lords having abundance of these little houses, caused them to be placed round about their principal lodging; so that the dwelling-place of every nobleman thus disposed appears a camp. And we must observe, that the door of every house is always turned to the south.

The oxen which draw these houses are the finest ornament of the Moguls and Tartars equipages, because they all strive to have fine ones. There are oxen so dear, that they cannot be purchased but by very rich people those that are most esteemed come from the country of Tangut: these are extremely strong, and there are some of them have hair like horses; and the most part have that on their tails white, and as soft as silk. They make use of camels in some places; but the use of oxen is much more common.

When they had marked out the King's quarters in the plain, which took up near two leagues in compass, and the streets, publick places, bazars or markets were appointed, they pitched the tents for the Emperor's household. That which was made for the Diet to sit in would contain at least two thousand persons; and to distinguish it from the rest, it was covered with white. They erected a magnificent throne for Genghizcan, and forgot not place on an eminence the black felt-carpet on which this Prince was seated when he was proclaimed Grand Can. And this emblem of the poor estate of the Moguls at that time was always held in the great veneration by them, so long as their empire lasted. The tent for the Diet had but two great entrances, the one they named the imperial gate, the other the publick. All the members of the assembly were not allowed to enter or go forth but by the common gate, altho' they both stood open. The imperial one was reserved for the Emperor only to come in at; and the people respected it in such a manner, that no man, of what quality soever, did

once approach it, tho' there was no guard placed to keep them out. The guards which were at the common door, served only for a shew of grandeur; for the orders given were so exactly observed by every body, that no disorder ever happened amongst them.

Altho' the luxury of the Princes and chief Mogul Lords was not yet come to the height it arrived at after Genghizcan's death, yet there appeared a great deal of magnificence in their habits and equipages. On the greatest part of the tents there were placed streamers of divers colours, made of the richest silks; nothing could be a finer sight. The Princes and Lord's horses had saddles and furniture set with precious stones and gold, which seemed to vie with each other. The habits the Moguls wore, were like those the Turks and Ottomans were at this present time. Those of the great Lords were made of gold and silver stuffs, and rich silks, which they had brought from the countries they had conquered; and it being still very cold weather, they wore under their robes a certain kind of fine fur garment, called *sables*, that is brought from Russia and Siberia, which they wore next their skins. They wore, when abroad in the field, over their habits, to preserve them, great coats of wolves skins. Their attendants had for the most part coats made of felt of divers colours, lined with wadding.

Altho' this assembly was called together to settle the affairs of the empire, yet there needed not much time to do it: for notwithstanding the great conquests and vast number of people subdued, Zagatai, the keeper of Genghizcan's laws, had put them in so good a method, that all things which were proposed to be regulated, were immediately referred to these laws, and by them determined without trouble, so that nothing more was requisite than to satisfy them, which extremely rejoiced the Legislator. Genghizcan, as has been before observed, much delighted to speak in public, failed not before the assembly broke up to make an oration in praise of his laws, and at the same time of himself. He recommended the exact observation of them to all the people, and shewed how advantageous and useful they were, since by their means so many important affairs had been regulated in so short a time. He likewise said that the observation

of these very laws had been the cause of all his conquests, and of the honour the Moguls now shared with him. From hence he took occasion to recount his victories, naming every sovereign Prince he had conquered, not excepting even the Prince of Tancut, there present. If it may be forgiven a great Prince to praise himself, Genghizcan merits to be excused, considering he was possessed of all Tartary, from the east as far as Muscovy, and from the uninhabitable parts of the north as far as Transoxiana, and of the vast country of Turquestan as far as China and India; nay, even of the half of China itself, which was subjected to him, and which Prince Utakin his brother had governed with such prudence during his absence, that at his return he found it quiet, notwithstanding the several attempts the King of Mangi, which is the Southern China, had made to excite them by his emissaries to a revolt. All the countries between Turquestan, the Caspian sea, and the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes, were intirely subdued; as also the people of Sende beyond the Indus as far as the Persian sea, Corassana, Mazendran, and other parts of the great empire of Persia, all acknowledged Genghizcan for their Sovereign, excepting the little country of Fars, the conquest of which he had been obliged to leave to his Lieutenants.

He was not content to relate the number and names of the countries he had conquered, but ordered, as the most effectual means to convince the Diet of his greatness, that all the Ambassadors should be called into the assembly who had followed the Court, and who were at this time in their tents, which were pitched round the imperial tent, as also all the envoys and deputies sent from the kingdoms and countries he had subdued. They all went to the foot of the throne, and there he gave them audience. After which he dismissed the assembly, and every one retired to his home.

Touschi, who looked on Capschac as his own kingdom, soon after took leave of the Emperor, who confirmed to him his grant of the Sovereign authority over it, and gave him leave to take under his command the troops which now were with Hubbe and Suida, the better to support his dignity, and subdue

the neighbouring Princes who should go about to molest him.

Prince Touschi was no sooner arrived in Capschat, but the two Generals put their troops into his hands, and returned to the Grand Can, whom they found still at Toncat. He gave them a good reception, accepted their presents, and caused rich vests to be given them. He went from Toncat soon after, attended with them and all his Court, making always the captive Queen to follow him, mounted on a chariot, and loaded with irons, to shew to the eyes of the nations a proud monument of his victories. When he was on his march, he gave an hour's conversation every day to Hubbe and Suida, to relate to him their expeditions, and the rarities they had come to the knowledge of in the strange countries they had been in, which they entertained him with; so that they had still something new to satisfy the Emperor's curiosity till he arrived in Mogolistan.



GENGHIZCAN'S RETURN TO CARACOROM, THE SEAT OF HIS EMPIRE. THE MOGULS MARRIAGES. THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR OF TANGUT.

THE Grand Can pass by the way of Turquestan, from whence he crossed over the kingdom of the Naimans, and entered into Caracatar, and some months after went to Caracorom, the seat of his empire. This city, which was no less than twelve days journey distant from the place where this Prince was born in the country of the Yeca Moguls, was really a very considerable place when it was taken from Ounghean; but Genghizcan had much improved and embellished it since, and after him, Ootai-Caan caused it to be rebuilt, and it became a very famous and populous city.

The eastern historians do not mention how Genghizcan was received by the inhabitants of his capital city, nor what became of the unfortunate Queen Turcan-Catun, nor of the Carizmean Lords who bore her company; but it is to be supposed that these illustrious captives finished their lives in misery and obscurity. The first pleasure the Emperor tasted at Caracorom was the sight of some of his grandsons, whom he had not seen for seven years. Amongst these there were two of whom he had conceived great hopes, which they did not fail to answer. They were called Cublay and Hula-cou. The first was then about ten years old, and the other nine. They continually employed themselves in hunting, which among the Moguls was accounted a great sign of fire and courage in those that were naturally addicted to this bold exercise. The inclination they shewed for this sport so extremely pleased the Grand Can, that he gave them employments near him, and took the trouble to instruct them himself.

And now this Prince being recovered of his fatigues, applied himself to settle the State. He first caused the great officers in China to be called to Court, to give him an account of their behaviour; and his brother Utakin having fully informed him of their actions, some were punished, and others reward-

ed. He did the same by the great Lords of Mogolistan and Caracatay. He sent also for Schidascou, the Sovereign of Tangut, who had offered to continue to be tributary to him. But this Prince fearing he would not pardon him his former rebellion, took no care to obey his orders, but rather thought of making a league with the Chinese of Mangi, and the oriental Turks his neighbours. However, to gain time, he used several pretences to excuse himself to the Emperor, whose troops not being all arrived, he disssembled his anger till such time as he was in a condition to make him feel his resentments.

Mean while Schidascou found the Chinese and Turks disposed to second him. The Chinese complained of Genghizcan's usurping the country of Catai, and the Turks of the vile usage he gave Queen Turcan-Catun, who had always used them well when they were her subjects. Nevertheless, the difficulty of forming leagues where the interests are different amongst those who compose it, did not permit them to come to a conclusion before the Grand Can was able to begin a war against them. Schidascou had already levied a great many troops, and prepared to receive the Moguls.

During this time the Emperor's army arrived near Caracorom very much fatigued. This Prince suffered them to rest for some weeks; but it was not his custom to let them be long idle. He caused the usual hunting to be proclaimed, and all the troops were obliged to be present at it, altho' the winter was very severe. The hunting was not quite ended, when news came that Schidascou had so well bestirred himself to get a considerable army together, that he had at last accomplished it. This report being confirmed by several couriers who were sent to the Grand Can by his correspondents, he resolved to send some troops towards Tangut to observe his enemy. And the winter being yet very cold, he ordered the Captains to give their soldiers coats lined with sheep-skins. They also covered the horses with felt, and put them in a condition to support the rigour of the season.

The care of providing for this war did not hinder the diversions in the Court and City, where there were great rejoicings. An infinite number of marriages were celebrated at Caracorom, and in Mogolistan.

The Emperor himself married the Princesses his sons, daughters to Princes of his own blood; and their marriages were kept with publick feasts, suitable to the quality of their husbands. The treats, and horse-races after the custom of the Moguls, a long time diverted the Court; and the soldiers being loaden with rich plunder, several bought the handsomest maids they could light of, and married them. Which was much practised amongst the Moguls and Tartars, their laws permitting them so to do, provided those they married were neither their sisters nor aunts. A man might marry two own sisters, nay, even his father's wives after his decease, only her excepted of whom he was the son.

They did not observe any great ceremonies in their marriages. They contented themselves with the mutual consent of both parties, managed by the fathers and mothers. The marriage being concluded on, the father of the maid received from the bridegroom the sum of money agreed upon; after which he gave a great banquet to all his son-in-law's relations, both men and women, at which his own likewise did not fail to be present. In the midst of this feast, the bride got away, and went to hide herself with some female relations; and when her companions who were before acquainted with, and had contrived the place of her retreat, saw the bridegroom perplexed to find her, they were extremely diverted, and nothing could more torment him than their laughter; but when he was so lucky as to find her, he immediately carried her home with him to his house, to which all the relations and friends accompanied them, and then taking leave, left them to themselves. The next day after the marriage, the bride had her hair cut off from the top of her head to her forehead, and dressed herself in a large garment or vest which reached down to her heels. This vest is open before, and fastened or tied together on the right side. After this she put on her head a cap sowed to a little light hoop, which makes the fashion of it round, and is tied on under her chin with a ribband. This sort of cap or turband is generally two or three hands high; but those which women wear who would appear above the vulgar, are sometimes an ell high. It is square at top, covered with a rich stuff, and adorned with plumes and jewels.

which give them a great lustre when they are on horse-back; and these caps being hollow within, they put their hair into them. The young people make compliments to the married couple during eight days, bringing presents, which the husband receives, without being obliged to make any returns, or even to treat them; but the eight days being expired, he must treat all his and her relations and friends: and these feasts seldom end without some quarrel, because they are too profuse of their liquors.

But to return to our history: so soon as the Emperor's troops arrived in the country of Tangut, the Mogul Captains stopped short to conceal and secure themselves and soldiers from being surprized by Schidascou. This Prince believed they would not begin to march towards him till the spring, and was therefore much surprized to hear of their approach, and even startled, altho' they were still a great distance from him; for they stopped near a city named Ezine or Azine, which was to the south of Caracorum, and that was twelve days hard journey from Campion, where Schidascou kept his Court.

The Moguls made great havock in his country before he could send troops enough to oppose them. They had even time to get together as much forage and provisions of cattle and corn in this country, as would suffice not only to subsist them, but also to serve the other troops that were on their march to come and join them.

The city of Campion was surrounded with strong walls, towers, and ditches. The caravans of the Muscovite, Tartar, Persian and Armenian merchants, always stopped at this place when they came to trade with China. And as none but the Ambassadors of Sovereign Princes were permitted to pass farther, all the trade must of necessity be carried on in this city for the merchandize they trafficked with the Chinese for, who brought thither all the finest commodities the neighbouring provinces produced, as linen clothes, and other stuffs made of cotton, gold and silver filks, and China ware; which rendered Campion a very rich place. There were in this country likewise many good towns; and among the rest, Sachion, which was a very large town, but not a place of much trade. It was inhabited by Nestorian Christians, Mahome-

tans, and many Pagans, who had each their temples and free exercise of their religions. They were a people curious of knowing secrets, and particularly applied themselves to the *Symia*, which teaches to make things appear which were not of being, and those disappear which were present. Their skill in this science occasioned these people to pass for magicians or conjurers amongst the Turks and Tartars.

Succuir is still dependent on Tangut. It has its cities, and its capital is called also Succuir, in which all the houses are built of brick, and the inhabitants are of the same sects as those of Sachion. The mountains adjacent do produce the best rhubarb of any place in all the country of Tangut. They dig it up in the winter, because in summer the root is full of holes, and hollow like a sponge, if gathered in that season. There are in this province almost all sort of fruits that grow in Europe, except grapes. The people are well-bred, and the men are not debauched, as at Camul, a city near it. They believe in Tangut that it is a sin for a man to endeavour to seduce a wife or a maid; but at the same time they think it no crime to lie with a woman, if she makes the offer. The men are little of stature, have black hair; their noses are short and small, and they have little hair on their chins. They generally have as many wives as they are able to maintain. The women and men both wear black caps made peaked at the top like a sugar-loaf. Their money is little bits of silver without any stamp on it, with which they buy what they want, and is valued by its weight. 'Tis out of this country that the fine wild oxen come, of which mention is made before. There are also very large elephants and beautiful cows; and 'tis a thing worthy observation, that this cow will not suffer the bull to come near them, unless they hear some body sing to excite them to it.

The Tartars of Tangut make use of astrologers in almost all their affairs, and they will not undertake any business without first consulting one who observes the stars, and point out a lucky moment to begin it. They even consult the astrologers about burying their dead, who are not interred till after very exact observations made. And to prevent a dead corps infecting

the house if it be kept long unburied, they put it into a coffin made of very thick hard wood, and stop all the crevices with pitch, after having put into it camphire and other perfumes; and then cover it with some rich pall. But because they serve their dead with the same meats they used whilst living, they uncover the coffin, near which they set the meats, and leave it so long a time as the deceased used generally to sit at dinner, being persuaded that his spirit is present, and sees all that is done in the house, and that he feeds on the scent of the meats. When the astrologer thinks it a proper time to bury the dead person, he must still make farther observations to know whether they must carry the body out by the door of the house as usual, or make another; for if they omit exactly to follow all his directions, they fail not to impute to this in-observation all the misfortunes that befall the family. After all these ceremonies they carry the body out of the city to burn it. It is followed by his relations and friends, but several times set down by the way in huts built on purpose, in every one of which they find a table spread, and meats upon it for him.



C H A P. XLII.

GENGHIZCAN'S MARCH TO TANGUT. THE LAST ACTIONS OF THE SULTAN GELALEDIN AT HIS RETURN FROM INDIA. THE BATTLE FOUGHT WITH SCHIDASCOU. THE SOVEREIGN OF TANGUT.

THE main part of Genghizcan's army were not in a condition to march and join the troops at Tangut till about the month of June in the year 1225. Heg. 622, and then they were obliged to provide against the season, because the warm weather did not usually begin in Tangut till about the end of that month, and the country could not furnish but very few necessaries before that time.

This Emperor would always share the fatigues and hardships of war with his foldiers. He made a review of his troops; after which he ordered a hundred thousand men for China, where he feared a revolt, if fortune favoured Schidascou: then with three hundred and fifty thousand which remained, including those that were already gone to Tangut, he began his march. He divided his army into ten bodies, to each of which he assigned a particular General. The Princes Zagatai and Ootai commanded the two first; the others were under the command of Caraschar, Ilencou, Bela, Hubbe, Suida, and other Lords who had signalized themselves in the past wars. But all these Generals were subject to Prince Tuli. Besides these, he had a flying camp of broken officers for the instruction of his grandsons Cublay and Hulacou, who in the end became very great men.

After several weeks march from the country of Mogolistan, the army crossed a desert which was forty days journey over, in the province that lay most eastward of the Naimans; and when he was arrived on the frontiers of Tangut, which was also called Cachin, the Emperor made his coming known to Schidascou by taking of the city of Ezine, which his troops that were before arrived had rendered unable to hold out long against him. The sudden reduction of this city gave leave to his troops to repose and refresh themselves after the long march they had undergone. Genghizcan not being willing to do any thing rashly, or run great hazards, chose this place for his residence during his stay in Tangut: and ordered to

wisely, that some of the people of the country, gained by his presents to them, served as spies for him, and gave him an account of the strength and disposition of his enemies, informing him that Schidascou had sent out thirty thousand horse, in several parties, to endeavour to surprize him. And in reality these troops, which were composed of select men, soon appeared on the frontiers of the country of Ezine, and at first defeated some parties of Moguls whom they met with, but soon retired on the advice given them that the Grand Can was marching with all his army against Schdascou, who had got together an army of five hundred thousand men, the greatest part of whom were furnished him by the Chinese of Mangi.

Genghizcan, tho' his forces were much inferior in number, yet never was shocked; but flattered himself that his enemies troops were unskilful in war, and undisciplined; whereas his were, on the contrary, inured to fighting, and use to conquer, and therefore would certainly gain the victory. He went forward therefore in search of Schidascou. Zagatai and Caraschar Nevian had forty thousand men under their command; Hubbe and Suida had thirty thousand; Ilencou commanded twenty thousand Carizmeans, who had in several countries been on the Moguls side: a like number of Indians obeyed the commands of Bela; and Badreddin, who had served the Grand Can against Mehomed, because that Sultan had put his uncle to death, brought thirty thousand men from the country of the Getes, and the frontiers of Capschat. A Can named Danischmende, a favourite of the Emperor, had under his command thirty thousand Carizmeans, new-raised troops. The Can of the Yugures led the Prince's auxiliary troops, who had after his example voluntarily submitted to Genghizcan. And all these Generals had as many Lieutenants under them, as they had ten thousands of men. The old veteran bands were commanded by the Prince Ostai, and made the body of reserve which attended the Emperor's person; and in this body was the flying camp of reformed officers.

Altho' all these officers and troops were very rich, they were all plainly dressed, because the Grand Can would have them so. The enemy, on the contrary, were dressed in cloth of gold and silver, and silks brought

from Ghana; and the very common soldiers had habits much finer than the Mogul officers.

Schidascou having learnt that Genghizcan was but two days march from him, sent a hundred thousand horse, detached out of all the squadrons in his army, to go and surprize his van-guard. They attacked them with much vigour, but found them so firm, that they could not so much as put one rank into disorder, whatever efforts they made. The night coming on, caused the fight to cease; and Schidascou's troops retired with loss, and returned to the main army, which they met within a day's journey of the place where they had fought. In the mean time Genghizcan still marched forward; and at last the two armies came in fight of one another.

Schidascou's army took up a great space of ground; but the Moguls were obliged to fight upon the ice on a lake, the waters of which were furnished by a canal from the river Caramouran, and were at this time frozen. A general fight began, and the Moguls quickly had the advantage. The troops of Tangut, and others on the same line in front, were intirely routed; and all the enemy army's had been so at that instant, if the Chinese commanded by Mayancan, whom Genghizcan had caused to be seized in the Chinese war, and the Turks led by the Prince of Jurge, had not strongly withstood the Moguls fury: but these two Generals charged the two wings of the grand Can's army with so much bravery, that it revived the courage of their soldiers, and they made a terrible slaughter, killing above thirty-thousand men. This good success became fatal to the victorious troops, who believing the Moguls vanquished, charged them boldly, without keeping their ranks; whereas the Moguls, who always kept close and in order, suffered themselves with much difficulty to be broken. At last the resolute resistance Marancan and the Prince of Jurge met with in the center astonished them; and the Corps he Reserve coming up, and falling upon them all at once, made the Turks and Chinese give back, and betake themselves to flight. Schidascou himself, after having shewed an extraordinary bravery, was obliged to fly, and leave the field of battle to the enemy, who cut in pieces all the troops that resisted. And 'tis said, that

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there were killed in this battle three hundred thousand men, belonging to this Prince and his allies.

The Mogul history makes no mention how many Genghizcan lost; but it speaks of all those who signa-
lized themselves in this great action, and says, that the young Princes Cublay and Hulacou made appear by their courage, that they should be able one day to equal their grandfather. After this victory Genghizcan marched against the Turks of Jurge, but they submitted; and he was contented with their submission and their rich presents, because he designed the conquest of the southern China, and would therefore preserve his forces for so great an enterprize. However, he imposed an annual tribute on these Turks, and agreed with their deputies as to the garrisons they should admit into their towns, of his soldiers; and likewise obliged them to furnish him some troops to join with his own. So he went no farther, but pass the winter in the western part of Tangut; where he received letters from Bagdat, which acquainted him with the death of the Califf. On this news he ordered new levies to be made: and whilst that was doing, he secured himself, not only of the countries dependent on Tangut, as Erginul, Sinqi, and Egrizaya; but also of the countries adjacent, and particularly of the city of Sikien, which was distant from Pequim, but four-score days journey. It much imported him to have this place, which might have given him great disquiet when he was entered into the southern China.

There needed a country of such vast extent, and so fertile as Tangut, to subsist so numerous an army for so long a time: accordingly the army was maintained there without trouble, and pass the winter in encamping and decamping in the southern parts of this kingdom towards Turquestan, where there was abundance of fat pasture ground. They pass the other seasons in the northern quarters of this country in the mountains, marching always without stopping in any city, both to prevent their wanting forage, as also to preserve the horses from the flies, and other insects of that kind, of which there is great quantity in the southern countries.

After this good success, it seemed that the Mogul Emperor had nothing more to desire: his empire was at peace; his Court appeared all joy, and nothing was

thought on but how to divert him. said himself, that he wished for nothing more than to do good to his subjects; and that he would wholly apply himself to render them happy, so soon as he had subdued the rest of China, of which the conquest appeared to him not difficult. But God had otherwise ordered it; and fortune, which does not use to continue men long in the same state, in a short time changed this Princes joy into sorrow: whilst he was diverting himself in the midst of his family, he was informed of the death of Toushtican, his eldest son. This news, which was brought him from Capschac, afflicted all the Court. The Emperor shewed at first much constancy of mind; but by degrees, insensibly, his constraint gave way to his fatherly affection, and he fell into a deep melancholy, which from that time hindered him from relishing any diversion.

He even appeared scarcely sensible of the news they brought him, of a great victory gained by his Lieutenant over Getaledin. This Sultan being informed that the Emperor was far off, returned from India into Mercrane with some troops; from thence he went to Schiraz, afterwards to Isfahan, in which his friends introduced him secretly, and there he augmented his little army. from thence he went to Bagdat, and not being well received, he beat the troops the Califf had sent against him, and retook Tauris. Then he marched against the Georgians with thirty thousand men, whom he employed, at his return to Azerbaijan, against a more numerous army of the Moguls, who passed over the Oxus in the beginning of the year 1226, Hegira 623, to go to meet him; which army defeated him, of which advice was given the Grand Can, as is before mentioned. The Moguls made themselves masters of Tauris after the Sultan's defeat; who rallying his forces, harassed his enemies, and had something the better of them. He laid siege to Erlat, the capital city of Armenia, where the Califf of Bagdat sent an Ambassador to him with presents. From thence he passed into Anatolia, to oblige them to render him the same respect they had done his father; but he was there beaten by Aladdin Keicobad, a Seljukide Prince of the third branch, and by other Sovereign Princes of that country who were joined together; who nevertheless did not pursue him after the battle, because they were willing he should keep the

Moguls in play; who yet at last surprized him, and entirely routed and pillaged his camp. He fled to Mahan on the confines of Azerbaijan, where he lived a whole winter without being known: but being at last discovered, he retired into Curdistan, where he was killed four years after Genghizcan's death, by a native of that country, in the house of one of his friends, where he had taken refuge.

So soon as the spring of the year 1226 was come, and that the Emperor's troops were arrived in the place he had appointed them to meet, to enter into China, and march against the people of Mangi; there arrived an officer from Schidascou, whom this Prince sent to the Grand Can, to intreat him to forget what was past, and to accept of his service. Schidascou was resolved to make this step, because he feared lest the Moguls should carry his fort of Arbaca, to which he was retired after his defeat. Fearing this, and hoping to better his condition by submitting, he condescended, notwithstanding the ambition and hatred that continually animated him against them. His envoy was well received at Genghizcan's Court, who in an audience he gave him, told him, 'You may assure your master, that I will no more think of what is past betwixt him and me; and that I will grant him my friendship.'

Soon after the Emperor fell sick, and his physicians attributed his illness to the badness of the air of the marshy countries where he had a long time resided, and to the grief, the death of his son Touschi had occasioned him. His sickness having seized him near to a forest in the road to China, the Generals of the army were obliged to suspend the march of the troops, and to take new measures for their subsistence. All the Court was encamped near the forest. The camp, composed of a prodigious quantity of tents and moving houses, resembled a great city. The quarter where the Grand Can was lodged, was farther off than usual, and the chamber where this Prince lay was out of the hearing of the noise and hurry of the Court. But all these precautions were in vain, he recovered not his health: on the contrary, whatever care the physicians and astrologers took, the disease daily increased upon him. At last, the Emperor, who never flattered himself in matters of importance, judging by the pains he felt that his life was in danger, resolved to dispose of his dominions, and name a successor.

CHAP. XLIII.

THE ADVANCEMENT OF OCTAICAN TO THE GREAT EMPIRE OF ASIA. THE DEATH OF GENGHIZCAN.

THE Grand Can finding him self extreme ill, caused his sons and their children to come together into his presence: the other Princes of the blood also came, according to his orders. He set himself upright, and notwithstanding the pains that racked him, he put on, as much as possibly he could, that majestick look which had always to that moment both awed and gained respect even from his children and the Sovereigns of the East. He told them that he found his spirits sunk, and that he must of necessity dispose himself for death: 'I leave you, added he, the greatest empire in the world. You are the peaceable possessors of it; but if you will preserve it, be always united: for if discord steals in amongst you, be assured that you will be all ruined.'

It is even said, that the better to convince them that their safety depended on their union, he gave them a bundle of arrows which he had caused to be brought to him, and bid them break them all together; which they not being able to do, he caused the bundle to be untied, and having made them break the arrows separately, which they did with ease, he took this occasion to represent to them the effects of union and discord amongst Princes; and said thus, to conclude, 'Be then but as one tongue and one soul, and you shall be secured from the effects of all curses; but if you do not observe the laws I have established, but walk in the paths of dissension, your subjects, that is to say, your enemies, shall in short time become masters of your empire.'

After having finished these words, he asked of those who stood by, whether they were not of opinion he should make choice of a Prince who was capable to govern so many kingdoms after him. Then his sons and grandsons fell on their knees, and said, 'You are our father, and our Emperor, and we are your slaves; tis for us to bow down our heads when you honour us with your commands, and to execute

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'them.' Then they rising from the ground, he named Prince Oſtai for his ſucceſſor, and declared him the Can of Cans, by the title of Caan, which he gave him, and which his ſucceſſors have kept. They all bowed the knee a ſecond time, and cried, 'What the Great Genghizcan ordains is juſt, we will all obey him; and if he pleaſes to command us even to kiſs the rod with which we have merited to be chaſtiſed, we will do it without diſputing.'

The Emperor gave to Zagatai, Tranſoxiana and ſeveral other countries, of which he would have a particular agreement made in writing; and this country from this time took the name of his Sovereign, and was called Oulous, Tehagatai, that is to ſay, the country of Zagatai. He commanded Caraschar Nevian, in whom he had an entire confidence, to accompany this Prince into Tranſoxiana, and to purſue Gelaled-din if this Sultan ventured to ſet foot in it. He made at this time ſome laws to prevent the differences that might ariſe between Zagatai and reſt of his heirs, and would have them put in writing, that they might remain in full force, to be put in execution in caſe of need. The laſt order he gave was concerning Schidaſcou, whom he could not pardon his revolting, notwithſtanding what he had ſaid to his envoy. And to the end that this Prince might be no gainer by his death, if he got knowledge of it before his arrival, he forbid it ſhould be publiſhed till ſuch time as Schidaſcou, who was hourly expected in the camp, was arrived; and commanded that they ſhould then ſecure him, and treat him according to the utmoſt rigour of the laws. Some few days after this he expired, at the ſame time that thoſe about him reported in the camp that he was much better than uſual, and that they ſhould quickly ſee him at the head of the army.

The death of this Prince happened a year or thereabouts after the coronation of St. Lewis, King of France, that is to ſay, towards the end of the year 1226. Heg. 623. after he had reigned twenty-five years, he being then in the ſeventy-third year of his age.

It was no difficult matter to conceal Genghizcan's death, becauſe amongſt theſe people they knew little of what paſt in the apartments of a great perſon who

was sick, and who generally would not be seen by any but those who waited on him in his illness. It must also be observed, that when any one was sick, they put some signal on the top of his house, to give notice that none should visit him; and those who were commanders, or persons of distinction, had centinels placed a good way from their lodgings, to hinder any from approaching the house; but those who were sent for.

Schidascou arrived eight days after Genghizcan's death in the camp, which he found in a great deal of joy on account of the feigned recovery of their Emperor, whose orders concerning him were exactly executed. They seized on the unfortunate Schidascou, on his children and some Lords, who accompanied him, and put them all to death; and by this bloody execution, Tangut and the Provinces dependant remained annexed to the empire of the Moguls.

After this, the death of the Grand Can was published. There was then nothing to be heard in every place but shrieks. All the royal family were drowned in tears, the Officers of the Court in a general consternation, the soldiers overwhelmed with grief; and all the Officers made the air echo with their lamentations. When all things for the funeral pomp were got ready, and the Princes, Generals of the Army, and other Martial Officers, were come together, the drums beat, the trumpets, kettledrums, and other warlike instruments, proclaimed the funeral on all sides. Then they brought forth the Grand Can's body, with the utmost respect and magnificence, and carried it to the place he had chosen for his body to be interred in. It was under a tree of singular beauty, where in his return from the chase some days before he fell sick, he had rested himself with much satisfaction. They buried him there with all the pompous ceremonies of the Mogul religion; and afterwards erected a most noble monument in this place upon his grave.

There is no likelihood that the barbarous custom, which has since been practised amongst the Tartars and Moguls, to kill those they meet in the way, when they are carrying to the grave the body of a Grand Can, was at this time observed; for the historians mention no such thing, and besides, this custom is not

countenanced by any law. Yet it is certain they exercised this cruelty at the funerals of the Emperors who have succeeded Genghizcan. The gentlemen who accompanied the funeral pomp, persuaded that the men they kill are predestinated to die then, put to death those they meet in the way, and even cut the throats of the finest horses.

The people who came to visit the tomb, planted other trees round it, which so artfully covered it, and in such a beautiful order, as rendered it in time one of the finest monuments in the world. So great a mourning and loss could not continue long a secret, or be confined to Tangut alone. It was spread all over the empire. The Court was filled with Caps and great Lords, either tributaries or friends, who came in person to comfort the afflicted Princes; and this great resort of Sovereigns lasted at least six months.

All addressed themselves to Ootai, as the Emperor destined to succeed. But tho' this Prince had the power to act with full authority, he would do nothing without consulting those whom the Grand Can used to advise with in his councils: nay, he even protested he would not act as their Sovereign till the Dies ordained by the law had been held, and they had examined whether he was capable of reigning. Corsairs had been already dispatched to all parts of the empire, to summon this assembly; and it was not doubted but all those who had a right to assist at it would hasten to Caracorom, where it was summoned to meet.

It seemed at this time that in this great empire there was an inter-regnum. Yet the publick affairs did not suffer. Zagatai, who was the guardian and expounder of the laws, made them be observed with great exactness. They were held in greater veneration than ever, because the memory of the legislator was still fresh in their minds. And in truth, how could the people chuse but have a great veneration for a Prince who had rendered them the most formidable and respected people in the world? A Prince who had, besides, all the virtues requisite in great conquerors. He had a genius fit for the forming great enterprizes, a consummate wisdom, and prudence to carry them on, a natural eloquence of speech to persuade, a patience proof against all difficulties, and able

to surmount all obstacles; an admirable temperance, a great understanding, with a penetrating judgment, which made him always chuse the best of whatever proposed in an instant: yet it must be confessed that he was cruel and bloody, and treated his enemies with too much rigour. Ootai Caan pushed his conquests much further into China; and his other successors in succeeding ages, seeing almost all Asia subjected to their laws, carried their victorious arms into Europe, even into some of our neighbouring Prince's Dominions.

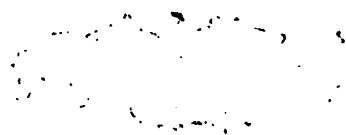
The End of the History of Genghiscan the Great.



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AN
ABRIDGEMENT
OF THE
HISTORY
OF
GENGHIZCAN'S SUCCESSORS.

AFTER the death of Genghizcan, his dominions remained under the Government of his children in the manner he had divided them in his life-time. Capschac remained to Princes Batou, the eldest son of Touschi, Zagatai had for his share Transoxiana, called likewise Mauvaralnahar, and by the Europeans Zagatai, or the country of the Uzbecks, and Turkestan. Tuli had Corassana, Persia, and India. All the rest was Ootai's share, that is to say, the great hord called Ourdoubalec and Oloughyurt, where Genghizcan usually resided, the country of the Moguls, the northern China called Catay or Cathay, which had Pequim for its capital; and in fine the other countries by the oriental sea, and the straits of Anian. Ootai took the title of Caan, which signifies Emperor. He began his reign in 1228, and died in 1241.

It now concerns us to know what was the fate of these four Princes, and the order of their successors down to Tamerlain, who having vanquished them all, left them only the titles of Cans and Emperors of the Moguls; and to this present time the descendants of Genghizcan are still preserved in the Cans of the Lesser Tartary, or Crim, in a direct line, and the branch of the Uzbek Cans who reign in Transoxiana.

THE HISTORY OF TOUCHI, GENGHIZCAN'S ELDEST SON.

TOUSCHI, whom some call Dgoudgy, and other Giougy, was a great Prince. His race subsists at this day in the Lesser Tartary, notwithstanding the invasions of the Muscovites into great Tartary, since the Tartars acknowledged Selim Keray for their lawful Sovereign. Touchi in the Tartar language signifies a welcome guest. The Merkites having one day found a favourable opportunity to plunder Genghizcan's camp, carried away his wife who was big with child, and brought her to Ounghcan her father, who sent her back to him. She was brought to bed of a Prince on the road, who was named Tofschi because of this adventure. This Prince grew very great, and much signalized himself by his brave actions. He accompanied his father in the Carizmean war, and took himself the city of Jund, situate on the banks of the river Jaxartes. Genghizcan was so pleased with his conduct, that he soon after gave him the Sovereignty of the empire of Capschac, the country of the Getes, and Turquestan. Tofschi settled himself in Capschac,* and died six months before his father, in the same year 1226. Fifty-eight Princes of his race in a direct line have reigned after him, and sat on the throne of Capschac.

His son Batou-Can, his first successor, conquered the Alani, the Affites, the Russians or Muscovites, the Bulgares, and several other nations. He even crossed thro' Russia, and pillaged and ravaged Poland, Moravia, Dalmatia, and marched into Hungary to go and besiege Constantinople; but death came and interrupted his great designs in the year 1256. Batou did several other considerable exploits; and it is reported that he was the most liberal and generous Prince in the world.

After the death of Batou-Can, Bereke Can his brother succeeded him, and became a Mahometan. He had a bloody war with Hulacou, Prince Tuli's son. After which, desirous to execute some part of Batou's designs, he went as far as Constantinople, and ravaged

* Capschac is situate on the north side of the Caspian sea, where Astrachan is, and reaches as far as Siberia and the frozen sea, where Archangel is.

all the country. In fine, having reigned ten years, he died in 1266.

After him the empire of Capschac was possessed by Mancoutem or Mongatmur, the son of Degan the son of Batou; and this Mancoutem was surnamed Kilk, which was the name of Genghizcan's great great-grandfather.

Cazaz the son of Tazaz, called also Toudenhencay, the son of Dogan, was the fifth King of Capschac.

The 6th was named Tosta or Begaba, the son of Mancoutem Kilk.

The 7th, Ertec, the son of Toul, the son of Kilk; and to him is attributed the first original of the Tartar tribe of Pous Ertec.

The 8th, Janibec, the son of Ertec. This Janibec being informed that Aschraf, the son of Timurtach, the son of Tehouban, who had been before vizier to Sultan Abousade, had usurped the kingdom of Azerbaijan or the Medes, from the Princes the children of the Emperor Abousaydcan, the King of Persia and the Medes, who were the descendants of Hulacou-Can, Genghizcan's grandson, he marched against this usurper, past the straits of Derbende, and arrived at Tauris, which he took. He afterwards vanquished Me-Kk Aschraf, seized of his treasures, and made himself master of the country; and after having left in Tauris Prince Birdi Bey his son, he returned to Capschac, where he died in 1349.

The 9th, Birdi Bey, the son of Janibec, who left Tauris as soon as he heard of his father's death, and came to Capschac.

The 10th, Kidly Bee, another of Janibec's sons.

The 11th, Norouz, who fraudulently made himself pass for the son of Janibec.

The 12th, Tchekes Can, who was likewise set up for a son of Janibec; such were the conjunctures of that time.

The 13th, Khedercan.

The 14th, Masoud Can, son of Khedercan.

The 15th, Bazartchican.

The 16th, Tocay, the son of Schabycan.

The 17th, Toclub Timur Can, the son Tocay's brother.

The 18th, Mourad Coja Can, Tocluc Timur's brother.

The 19th, Coutlic Coja Can, Vocay's brother.

The 20th, Ourouscan, who had for his children Tofta Caya, Coruebougay, who was killed by Tocatmichcan, and Timur Melic. He died in 1376.

The 21st, Tofta Caya, the eldest son of Ourouscan; He also died in 1379.

The 22d, Timur Melic Aglen, the son of Ourouscan, who fought against Tamerlain, and was wounded in the fight.

The 23d, Tocatmichcan Aglen, who after having been assisted by Tamerlain against Ourouscan, Tofta Caya, and Timur Melic, and established in the throne by his assistance, made war upon his benefactor in 1376, and was vanquished by the same Prince Tamerlain in 1388, 1391, and 1395.

The 24th, Timur Cocluc Aglen, the son of Timur Melic, who had also served Tamerlain in 1388, and in 1390, against Tocatmichcan; as likewise in 1391 and in 1395.

The 25th, was Schady Bec, notwithstanding the installation of Coirythae Aglen by Tamerlain, in the month of April 1395.

The 26th, Poulad, the son of Schady Bec, although Tamerlain did not acknowledge him for Can.

The 27th, Timur, the son of Timur Cocluc, although not acknowledged by Tamerlain, who had installed and acknowledged Idecoucan.

The 28th, Gelaleddin, son of Tocatmich Can.

The 29th, Kerim Birdi, also the son of Tocatmich.

The 30th, Respectan, the son of Tocatmich.

The 31st, Bahira, another son of Tocatmich.

The 32d, Cadir Birdycan, another son of Tocatmich. He marched against Idecou, who was installed by Tamerlain, and was killed in the fight, so not a

The 33d, Idecou.

The 34th, Sidi Ahmed.

The 35th, Dervisch, the son of Abolycan.

The 36th, Koutchuck Mehomed Can, the son of Tocatmich.

The 37th, Dofet Birdy Can, the son of Taffa Timur.

The 38th, Barrac Can, the son of Cabargic.

The 39th, Cayafeddin Schadi Bec.

The 40th, Mehomed, the son of Timurcan.

The 41st, Hadgy Keray Can, son of Mehomed Can, who died in 1775, and left twelve sons. The great number of Princes was the cause that the empire of Capschac fell into confusion, so that three sons were seen to reign as Cans at one time; which occasioned a war that ruined several provinces, of which the Muscovites got possession. The great empire of Capschac had been infallibly ruined, if Sultan Mehomet, the second conqueror of Constantinople, touched with the misfortunes of these Princes, had not taken care to succour them. For this purpose he sent Ghedic Ahmed Pacha, who took the city of Cassa from the Europeans, and afterwards that of Mancoup, out of which he carried away all the inhabitants prisoners. Prince Mengheli Keray, son of Hadgy Keray, was found amongst them, and lost his liberty. He had been Can for some days, but having been vanquished by his brothers, he had taken refuge at Mancoup, which was then in the Christians hands, and waited an opportunity to remount the throne. But he was not long a prisoner; Mahomet II. soon re-placed him in it. The Mengheli Keray was the 42d King of Capschac.

The 43d, Mehomed Keraycan, the son of Mengheli.

The 44th, Gazykeraycan the son Mehomed, who was deposed after six months reign.

The 45th, Saadet Keray Can, who gave his brother Sabibkeray in hostage to Sultan Selim the Ottoman Emperor. From this time the Turks gave one thousand and fifty aspers per day, as a pension to the Cans of Crime Tartary, and other pension to the Lords of this Can's Court; as may be seen in the book Kunhialakhbar.

The 46th, Ilam Keray Can, the son of Mehomed Keray. In his reign the kingdom was divided into two factions; the one were obedient to Saadet Keray Can, and the other to Ilam Keray Can; so that in 1517 the two parties came to blows on the banks of the Boristhenes, and those on Ilam Keray's side had the better. Saadet Keray was obliged to save himself by flying to Constantinople, where the Turkish Emperor gave him a pension.

The 47th, Sahibkeray, who caused Ilam Keray to be killed, and was himself, after having reigned a long time, deposed by Sultan Soliman II. and sent to

Rhodes, to be imprisoned there. The Muscovites took from him the city of Cazán on the 9th of July, 1552, a place situate in Capschac, to the northward of Astracán, on the river Volga.

The 48th, Dolet Keray Can, the son of Sultan Mobarec, the son of Menghely Keray Can, who died in 1577.

The 49th, Mehomed Keray Can, who was deposed for having disobeyed the Grand Seignior.

The 50th, Islam Keray Can, taken out of prison again from Rhodes. He died in 1588.

The 51st, Gazy Keray Can. He was a learned Prince, an excellent poet, and an able musician. The grand Seignior increased his pension to a hundred livres a day, because this Prince had done great services to the Ottoman Empire in the war with Persia; where he shewed, that he was endowed with all the qualifications requisite in a great officer. Yet he was deposed for some time, but afterwards re-established, and died in 1607.

The 52d, Fatehkeray Can, who was almost immediately deposed.

The 53d, Selamet Keray Can, the son of Dolet Keray Can. He died in 1610.

The 54th, Janibec Keray Can, who went into Persia in 1617, by order of the Porte. He went to besiege Caffa at the head of 40,000 Tartars. He was nevertheless deposed in 1621, and afterwards re-established in 1627.

The 55th, Mehomed Keray Can, killed in 1627.

The 56th, Anayet Keray Can, the son of Gazy Keray Can, deposed in 1637, and afterwards put to death at Constantinople in the same year.

The 57th, Behader Keray Can, the son of Selamet Keray Can. He died in 1641.

The 58th, Mehomed Keray Can, the son of Selamet Keray Can; who was deposed in 1644, and restored again; and a second time deposed in 1664.

The 59th, Islam Keray Can, the son of Selamet Keray Can, who died in 1653, after having made war with Poland during the space of fourteen years.

The 60th, Adelkeray Can, the son of Tchouhan Keray Can. He was deposed in 1671, and sent back prisoner to Rhodes, from whence he had been taken.

The 61st, Selim Keray Can, who reigned in 1673.

The 62d, Dolet Keray Can, the son of Selim Keray Can. He was deposed, and sent away to Rhodes and afterwards to Chio. This was a Prince who was much beloved by his subjects, and was accounted a great General.

The 63d, Kaptan Keray Can, who was deposed in 1708. He had gone into Circassia to reduce some rebels; but being beaten and put to flight, the Grand Seignior deposed him, and established in his place Dolet Keray Can, the son of Selim Keray Can.

THE BRANCH OF THE UZBEC CANS, KINGS OF TRANSOXIANA, DESCENDED FROM THE SAME TOUSCHI CAN, THE SON OF GENGHIZCAN.

UZBEC Can King of Capschao, descended from Touschi, was swept by Tamerlain; both he and his successors, of the province of Transoxiana. He had a son named Gehan Bec, of whom descended Cheybas Can, the founder of that dynasty, named Dolet Uzbekyan.

Cheybec Can was the son of Sultan Berrac, son of Abulkayr Can. He retook Transoxiana from Tamerlain's children in 1498, after the death of Sultan Mirza Huseyn Tamerlain's grandson. After which he entered Cosassia in the year of grace 1507, from whence he drove out Badyazisaman; but he was himself at last defeated and killed, by Chac Ismael Sefevi, near the city of Merou, in the year 1510.

The 2d, was Couchican, who died in 1529.

The 3d, Aboufayd son of Couchangi, who died in 1539.

The 4th, Oubaydallah Can, cousin of Cheybec, who died in 1539.

The 5th, Abdallah Can, who died in 1540.

The 6th, Abdallatif Can, who reigned in 1541.

All these Princes, and their successors, have always been, and are still at this day, at war with the Kings of Persia, of the race of Chac Ismael Sefevi, descendants of Chac Sefi. We do not know the names of those who have reigned since Abdallatif Can: we only

ly know that he had for his successors Berrac Can of Samarcand, and Seid Burhan Can of Bocara in 1556, as may be seen in Mirfidy Aly's voyage, Sultan Soliman's envoy.

The successors of these Princes still reign in Transoxiana, but each has his particular dominions; one is Can of Bocara, another of Samarcand, another of Balc, &c.

THE HISTORY OF ZAGATAI CAN, GENGHIZCAN'S SECOND SON.

ZAGATAI Can was a most accomplished Prince, and excelled his brothers. He was also more equitable, and more exactly observed the laws made by his father. He had for his part Transoxiana, the country of the Yugures, the great city of Caschgar near Tebet, the kingdom of Bedaeschan, and the city of Balc, which several learned men affirm to be the ancient Bactria. He governed all these countries with the assistance of Prince Caraschar Nevian, whom Genghizcan had given him for his vicer, and who was Tamerlain's ancestor in the first degree. This Caraschar was the son of Sugougen, Genghizcan's Kingman.

Zagatai, after the death of his father, chose the city of Bechbalec for his abode. He was however, almost always with his brother Ogtai, who loved and respected him as his master, altho' he was but his younger brother. After him one and thirty Princes, his children and nephews, reigned in this country, which was some time after called by his name Zagatai.

His first successors was Bisoumencay Can.

The 2d, Cara Hulacou, the son of Metouca; some call him Menouca the son of Zagatai. He mounted the throne after the death of his brother Bisoumencay, by the assistance of Caraschar, who died during his reign, in the year 1254.

The 3d, the Queen Argana Catun, daughter of Noureltchy Gourcan.

The 4th, Nalygou the son of Baydar, son of Zagatai.

The 5th, Mobarek Scha the son of Cara Hulacou, Zagatai's grand son.

The 6th, Berrac Can, the son of Bissoun, or Baysourtoua, the son of Menouca. He had a war with

Abaca the son of Hulacou, his cousin, and against Coublay Caan. He died in 1260.

The 7th, Nikepey Can, the son of Saryen, the son of Zagatai.

The 8th, Bouca Timur.

The 9th, Dava Can, the son of Berrac Can. He was accounted a very just King.

The 10th, Kevendgikcan.

The 11th, Baligou.

The 12th, Abifouca, the son of Dava Can.

The 13th, Kepec Can.

The 14th, Eltchikeday Can, the son of Dava Can.

The 15th, Davatmur.

The 16th, Turmechirin Can, who died in 1336, much feared of his neighbours.

The 17th, Dginkechy.

The 18th, Bifoun Timur Can, the son of Abouken.

The 19th, Aly Sultan, of the race Ootai Can.

The 20th, Mehomed Can, the son of Poulad, the son of Kevendgik.

The 21st, Cazan Sultan Can, the son of Iffour Aglen.

The 22d, Daneschmendge Can, of the race of Ootai Can.

The 23d, Beyan Couly Aglen, the son of Sorggdou, the son of Dava Can.

The 24th, Timurchah Aglen, the son of Bifoun Timur Can, the son of Abouken. The great Lords in his reign usurped the authority, because he was a very weak Prince in his understanding.

The 25th, Togaltimur the son of Aymelcoja, the son of Dava Can. He a little re-settled the affairs of the state, and obliged several Lords to obey him. He died in 1372.

The 26th, Elias Caja Can. He returned to Transoxiana at the head of a numerous army of Getes, and gave battle to Tamerlain, who was joined with Mir Hussein.

The 27th, Adet Suttan.

The 28th, Caboulchah Aglen, the son of Dourgy, the son of Eltchikeday Can, the son of Dava Can, who was installed in 1373.

The 29th, Syorgatmich Aglen, the son of Daneschmend Can; to whom Tamerlain gave the empty title of Can, without leaving him the least part of the power.

The 30th, Sultan Mahomud Can, the son of Syorgatmich. Tamerlain caused his name to be written on the top of his orders, to make the people believe that he observed Genghizcan's laws.

The 31st, Toumen Coghuc Aglen, also crowned by Tamerlain in 1390.

Tamerlain dying, and his successors not observing any longer the law which ordained the establishment of Cans in the family of Zagatai, Genghizcan's son, there is no more mention made but of the successors of Tamerlain.

THE HISTORY OF OCTAI CAAN, THIRD SON OF GENGHIZCAN, AND HIS SUCCESSOR.

OCTAI began to reign in 1226. He generally resided in Oloughyurt, a city but a little way distant from Casagorom. He was just and liberal. He sent an army in pursuit of Sultan Gelaheddin.

They reckon nineteen successors of Octai's race in the Empire of Oloughyurt; but these successors were some of them the children of this Prince, and some the children of Tulican his brother. He sent Argounaga in 1235, into Corassana as Governor; and having heard of the destruction of Herat, which was the capital, he caused this city to be rebuilt by an emir named Azzeddin Moccadem Heraouy, firnamed Jamebas, whom he sent thither for that purpose, who also caused the lands in this country to be again sowed and manured in 1231. In fine, Octai Caan, after having reigned thirteen years with as much gentleness as justice, died much regretted of this people in 1241.

Prince Keyouc Can, his son, whose mother was the celebrated Tourakina Catun, was his successor, and assembled a general diet in his father's camp. He mounted the throne with the universal consent of the people, at Oloughyurt, in the year 1245. But he did not long enjoy the Empire, for he died in the year 1246.

Historians make no mention of the Princes the children of Keyouc Can, nor of Octai's other children. They must doubtless have been too young to support the grandeur of the imperial throne; because

Batou, the son of Tauschi King of Caspach, used all his endeavours, after the death of this Prince Keyouc Can, to make them receive a Prince of the race of Tuli for their Emperor : and at last he effected his desire ; for Mangou Can, the son of Tulican succeeded : and since that time no Prince of Qetai's posterity has ascended the throne.

THE HISTORY OF TULI CAN, GENGHIZCAN'S FOURTH SON.

PRINCE Tuli had extremely distinguished himself by his valour during Genghizcan his father's life-time, who gave him the honourable title of Oluc Nevian, that is to say, great Prince ; and he was indeed a very great General. He had the management of all the money to pay the army, as also of the great hord or royal camp ; and he was besides that, great Steward of the Emperor's household.

After the death of his father, he possess the same posts under Qetai Can his brother, at Oloughyurt ; and therefore was content to put Governors in Corassana, Persia, and in other countries which were left him by his father the Emperor. But this great Prince did not live long ; for he died in 1229, three years after Genghizcan.

He left eight sons, four of them resembled their father in courage : the four others are not mentioned. The eldest of these Princes was called Mangou Can, the second Hylacou Can, the third Coublay Can, and the fourth Artichouga. When Prince Mangou Can was by the interest of Batou Can, advanced to the Empire after the death of Keyouc Can, he did not renounce the kingdoms left him by his Father Tuli, but united them to the rest of his empire in 1250, and sent Hylacou Can his brother into Corassana and Persia in quality of Governor. Mangou Can reigned seven years with all the justice and conduct that could be expected from one of the greatest Princes in the world. He died in 1257.

After Mangou Can, the Kingdom was possessed by Coublay, who had no sooner learnt the news of the death of Mangou than he returned from China, where

he was at that time engaged in war, and sat in the throne of Oloughyurt; but Articboug, the youngest of the four brothers, opposed Coublay's advancement to the empire and set up his standard at the head of a great army. These two Princes fought several battles; and in the last, which was a very bloody one, Articboug being vanquished, came and threw himself at his brother's feet, who only made him some reproaches at first, but afterwards shut him up between four walls covered with thorns of the tree Adragant, where he ordered that a strict guard should be set over him to his dying day, which happened a year after. Thus Coublay Can remained the peaceable possessor of the empire. He reigned twenty-five years, in which he went on several great expeditions both into China and other places. In 1265 he was informed of the death of his brother Hulacou, who was at that time in Persia; and he immediately took care to install Abaca Can, the son of Hulacou, in the throne of Persia, Corassana, and India: he also gave him several other countries of great extent, which had been newly conquered by Hulacou Can. The actions of Coublay, both in China and elsewhere, are too many to be related in this abridgement. There are several entire books of his life and exploits. He died in 1294.

Coublay had for his successor his grandson Timur Can, surnamed Olagiatou the son of Hakim or Dgetkem, who reigned twelve years, and died in 1306.

After him the Empire passed to Couchilay Can, the son of Dgenesec, son of Termébilay, Son of Dgetkem, son of Coublay.

The 5th successor of Tuli was Togyay, the son of Couchilay.

The 6th, Tayzy Can, the son of Noulik, surnamed Bilestiou.

The 7th, Anouchirouan, the son of Dara, the cousin of Tayzy. This Emperor was a man of excellent morals; but he gave too much power to the Governors of provinces, who acted as Sovereigns, and caused many troubles in the empire.

The 8th, Tocatmir, the son of Timur Can.

The 9th, Bifourdar.

The 10th, Ayke, the son of Bifourdar.

The 11th, Ylenc Can.

The 12th, Keytmour.

The 13th, Arkitmur.

The 14th, Eltchy Timur Can, who went to Tamerlain, and lived in his Court till the death of this Prince; after which he returned to Oloughyurt, where he ascended the throne in 1405.

The 15th, Waltay Can, who descended in a direct line from Prince Articboug, the fourth son of Tulicán.

The 16th, Orday, the son of Orday, the son of Melic Timur.

The 17th and last, Aday, the son of Arkitmur. These two last Cans lived so obscurely, that they are looked on as their great ancestor Articboug, from whom they descended, and who never was numbered amongst the Cans.

From this time there is no more talk at Oloughyurt of the Princes descended from Genghizcan, but only of those who descended from Coublay, and who remained Kings of China, of whom there is mention made. The Princes of the posterity of Hulacou Can, Kings of Persia and India, have also made some noise. These pushed their conquests as far as the straits of Anyan, the farthest parts of the East, as will be showed in the history of Hulacou Can, Tuli's son.

THE HISTORY OF HULACOU CAN, THE SECOND SON OF TULI, AND OF HIS POSTERITY.

WHEN Mangoucan, * the eldest son of Prince Tuli, was raised to the empire of Oloughyurt, after the death of Keyouc Can, the son of Oñai, he sent Prince Hulacou his brother into Persia, to reign in his stead, in quality of his Viceroy, reserving only to himself the Sovereign right and title of King. Hulacou being come to his Government in 1250, received the petitions presented him against the Abasside Califf Mustafim Ballah. On these complaints, and particularly those made by the great astrologer Nasiredin.

* It must be read *Mangou* Can, and observed that those who have succeeded *Oñai* had, like him, the Title of Can, that is to say, Can, of Cans.

Toufi, who, being displeased with this Califf, was retired into Persia, he took up a resolution to make war upon Chaldea, to punish Mustasim Billah for the ills he had occasioned. For this reason he sent to ask the assistance of Mangou Can; and when he had received some forces from him, he marched towards the western countries at the head of three hundred thousand Tartars, and arrived before Bagdat, of which he formed the siege: and heving soon rendered himself master of this city, he put to death Mustasim Billah, the last of the Abasside Califfs, and entirely destroyed their race, in 1258.

After this expedition, he went into Syria, and took all its cities. Then he past into Anatolia, which he conquered, and gave the Government of it to Azzeddin Pervane. He put to death the vizier Seifeddin Toufchy, and settled in his place the learned Schamseddin Mehomed Jouini, author of the history of Genghizcan, entitled, *Gehānkusha*, and gave him for his Lieutenant his brother Aladin Atalmulc. After making these great conquests, and having reigned for fifteen years in Persia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Anatolia, Hulacou Can died in 1265.

Abaca Can his son succeeded him, and mounted his throne by order of Coublay Can his uncle. He gave battle to Bereke Can King of Capschac, his cousin, the son of Toufchi, who was at war with Hulacou his father, and who was advanced as far as Constantinople. He beat Bereke, and reigned sixteen years with much honour and greatness, and died in 1281.

The 2d, successor was Nicouder, otherwise called Ahmed Can, brother to Abaca, and son to Hulacou. He embraced Mahometanism, reigned two years and three months, and died in 1284.

The 3d, Argoun Can, the son of Abaca Can. He put to death the grand vizer Schamseddin Jouini, who had served the state in four reigns, and died himself, after seven years reign, in 1291.

The 4th, Ghendgiatou, the brother of Argoun, and the son of Abaca Can. He reigned but four years, being killed by Baydou Can his cousin, in the year 1295.

The 5th, Baydou Can, the son of Tragay, the son of Hulacou Can. He died also in the year 1295.

The 6th, Sultan Maymoud Gazan Can, the son of Argoun, the son of Abaca, the son of Hulacou. He made a great noise in the world, and died in 1303, having reigned eight years.

The 7th, Oladgiaytou Sultan Mehomed Codabende, the brother of Gazan. In his reign was finished the history entitled, *Tarikh Gazany*, the author of which was Fadlallah, which monsieur Petit de la Croix translated into French in 1690. This Prince built the city of Soltanya in Persia, where he died in the year 1317, after having done many great exploits, and reigned fourteen years.

The 8th, great Sultan Aboufayd Behadeur Can, the son of Codabende. He rendered himself renowned for his valour and magnificence. He reigned twenty years, and died in the year 1335. He was buried near his father Codabende, under the fine dome of the mosque of Soltanya, in which all the Alcoran is writ in golden letters round the walls. After the death of this great Prince, the monarchy of the Moguls in Persia decayed, and fell to ruin. The Prince and great Lords of the kingdoms of their Governments. They indeed settled Cans of the race of Hulacou over them, giving them the title, but reserving to themselves all the authority. We find the names of eight Cans of Genghizcan's race, who reigned after these mentioned, but who had only the name of Emperors; for the Princes the children of Aboufayd did not continue to live at Solanya, but made war one against the other, and were overcome by the Ilcanians, whose founder was Buzure Hassan, the son of Chec Huseyn Ghurcan, of the race of Genghizcan. These are the names of the eight Cans.

The 1st, was Arpacan; the son of Aly, the son of Baydou Can, the son of Tragay, the son of Hulacou, who reigned but one year, and died in 1355.

The 2d, Moufa Can: he mounted the throne of Azerbaijan, in which the city of Soltanya was situate, built by Codabende. But Buzure Hassan set up at the same time for Emperor another Prince of the race of Hulacou, called Mehomed, who attacked Moufican, who was joied with Alyschah, another Can of Hulacou's race. Alyschah was killed, and Moufa put to

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ight. Mehomed caused his head to be cut off by the assistance of Buzure Hassen, in 1336.

The 3d, Mehomed Can, whom some call Mahomud; he was the son of Magiouny, the son of Hulacou Can. He reigned after the death of Aly, and died in 1337.

The 4th, Tagur Can, who was the presumptive heir of the empire, fled into the country of Mazendran.

The 5th, Bouca Timur Can.

The 6th, The Princess daughter of Mehomed Can. Her name was Chahzade Chabibek Catun. She married a Prince of the race of Hulacou, and gave him the title of Can, in 1338.

The 7th, Soliman Can, the son of Mehomed, the son of Sanki, the son of Ahmed, whom others called Chimed, the son of Hulacou Can, the husband of Chahzade Chabibek Catun.

The 8th, Degehan Timur Can, the son of Alatyanky, the son of Reiatany Can, of the race of Hulacou.

After this time the Cans were put down, and the Crown of Persia went to Melik Acharf, the son of Timur Tach, the son of Tchouban, vizier to Abousayd Can, who was vanquished by Janibec the Emperor of Capschac. Meanwhile, the son-in-law of Emir Tchouban, who was called Buzure Hassen, the son of Chec Husein Curcan, the son of Argoun, who was no more than a Bey, rendered so powerful by the yielding up of his wife Dilchadaga, the Emir's daughter, from whom he was divorced, to Sultan Abousayd, that this Can made him his chief favourite, and gave him the Government of Anatolia. Hassen so well managed his affairs, that after the death of Sultan Buzure Hassen, he put himself at the head of a great party, and at last got himself crowned King of the Medes, and afterwards of Chaldea, by the taking of the cities of Bagdat, Hille, Vaset, and Basra, which had been possessed by Melikachraf Tchoubanien, who was the founder of the monarchy of the Ilcanians.

Janibec Can of Capschac, left his son Birday Bey at Tauris; but Birday Bey returned to Capschac after the death of his father, which happened in 1349, as has been before related in the history of the Emperors of Capschac. He then left the country of

Azerbaijana to Sultan Avis, the son of Buzure Casan, of whom Dilchadaga was the mother.

This Sultan killed the rebel Ahmardgic, and retook the cities of Tauris, Selmas, Soltanya, Ardeville, Coy, Diarbekir and Chirouan. After which, having divided his kingdoms betwixt four children, he died in 1375.

Huseyn, the son of Avis, was crowned after the death of his father; but the faction who supported his brother Ahmed, deprived him of his life.

Ahmed, another son of Avis, after having received great succours from Cara Mehomed a Turcoman, the founder of the monarchy of the Black Weathers, or Cara Coinlu. This Cara Mehomed put him and his children to death in 1410. And thus ended the race of the Ilcanians. Afterwards Tamerlain drove out of Tauris the Princes of the Black Weathers in 1388.

Such was the end of the descendants of Hulacou Can, in the kingdom of Persia. After which, Tamerlain, who pretended to be descended from the posterity of Genghizcan in the fifth degree, by the wives of Prince Caraschar Nevian, from whom were sprung the Princes of the family of Berlas, very famous in Transoxiana: Tamerlain, I say, who was the nephew of Hadgi Berlas, the heir of this family, which was the fourth tribe of the oriental Turks, rendered himself absolute master of Persia, and his successors quite abolished in that country the name and power of the Cans descended from Genghizcan.





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